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LOCAL CVLTS IN ETRVRIA

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LOCAL CVLTS IN ETRVRIA

BY

LILY ROSS TAYLOR

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PREFACE.

This monograph is a geographical study of the religious cults of Etruria. The available evidence from literary, epigraphical, and archaeological sources is collected and discussed independently for each town. The work is not a general study of Etruscan religion. Evidence for Etruscan religious beliefs and cult forms is considered only when it can be associated with a particular town. Yet the effort to reconstruct the religious history of the various cities will, it is hoped, contribute to a fuller understanding of the religion of the Etruscan peoples and will thus supplement the historical, linguistic, and archaeological investigations that are gradually throwing light on Etruscan civilization.

Among the many scholars to whom I have recorded my debts in the footnotes I should like to express my obligation to a few whose work I have constantly found useful : to Dennis whose Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria *remains, in spite of recent discoveries, the best description of the monuments that actually exist in Etruria ; to Nissen whose* Italische Landeskunde *still holds a unique place in the field of ancient Italian geography ; to Bormann who edited and discussed in masterly fashion the Latin inscriptions of Etruria ; to Mueller-Deecke* *whose* Etrusker *is still indispensable for its collection of the literary sources for the Etruscans ; to Körte and Skutsch whose articles on* Etrusker *in Pauly-Wissowa provide the most adequate discussion of the Etruscan people and their language ; to Schulze who in his* Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen *has gathered material of great importance to the student of history and religions ; and finally to Wissowa whose* Religion und Kultus der Römer *and whose numerous special articles have put the student of Roman Religion under an obligation the extent of which it is difficult to measure.*

The investigation was undertaken during my tenure of a fellowship in Classical Archaeology at the American Academy in Rome in 1919-20. *Its publication has been made possible by funds provided jointly by Vassar College and by the American Academy in Rome. The map of Etruria is the work of Mr. Ralph E. Griswold, Fellow in Landscape Architecture of the American Academy. The religious inscriptions of Etruria that have not yet been published have been kindly furnished to me by Professor Alexander Gaheis of Vienna who, since Bormann's death, has been charged with the editing of supplements and index of Volume XI of the* Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. *Members of the Classical Faculty of the Academy have been generous with aid. During my residence in Rome I was able to avail myself constantly of Professor C. D. Curtis' knowledge of Etruscan archaeology and of Professor A. W. Van Buren's wide acquaintance with classical bibliography. To both of these scholars and to Professor Tenney Frank, Professor in charge of the School of Classical Studies of the Academy,* *1922-23, I am indebted for many criticisms of manuscripts and correction of proof. Particularly to Professor Curtis, editor of the publications of the Academy, I desire to express my gratitude for making the index, reading every proof, and seeing the book through the press — an editorial task which the delays and uncertainties of foreign mails have made more than usually arduous.*

Vassar College, April 1, 1923.

LILY ROSS TAYLOR.

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EXPLANATION OF REFERENCES.

The following books are cited simply by the use of the author's name :

DENNIS, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 3rd. edition.
DESSAU, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.*
NISSEN, *Italische Landeskunde*, Vol. II, 1.
SCHULZE, *Zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Eigennamen.*
WISSOWA, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2nd edition.

Inscriptions cited simply by number come from Volume XI of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*

LOCAL CULTS IN ETRURIA

INTRODUCTION
THE HISTORY OF ETRURIA.

Etruria is a land of such infinite variety and such fundamental lack of unity that it is difficult to see how even in the days of prosperity it could ever have been bound together as it was in a political league of the loosest type or in an effective administrative organization of any kind. There are the newly formed volcanic lands to the south, far more fertile and more intensely cultivated in ancient times than today, the wide expanse of the bleak Tuscan Maremma, desolate for centuries, but fruitful before the terrible scourge of malaria did its work, and the bare mountains that border it, once famed over much of the known world for copper mines that today hold but a slight place in the world's production. In ancient times as today, when the modern traveller finds little improvement over the conditions that Dennis described some seventy years ago, means of communication in the region were strikingly inadequate. Yet the territory has long been an independent division of Italy. Its boundaries were extended by Sulla and later by Augustus to include first Faesulae, Florentia, and Pisae, and later Luna and Luca, and though they have been in turn encroached on by Latium (the Papal States) and Umbria, modern Tuscany is still in remarkable geographical correspondence with the heterogeneous territory of Etruria whose name it has inherited. For purposes of the present study Etruria is defined as Augustus's seventh region of Italy, the extent of which is indicated on the accompanying map. Before proceeding to the subject of this investigation, the evidence for local cults in Etruria, it is desirable to consider the history of Etruria, and the process by which its gradual " Romanization " was effected.

The traces of habitation here in the Stone Age are scant, the most significant remains being in the territory of Volterra in the north and in the neighborhood of Falerii in the south, where recent explorations have added to our knowledge of the early inhabitants [1]. Genuine Bronze-Age remains seem to be entirely lacking, but the case is altogether different for the Iron-Age. About the beginning of the first millennium before Christ a race of men who dwelt north of the Apennines in the Po valley migrated to the south and took up their abode in Etruria and Latium. These men, the bearers of the "Villanova" civilization, so called from the cemetery near Bologna where it was first adequately studied, were the descendants of the Bronze-Age terramara settlers of the Po valley [2]. They lived, it would seem, in villages, their dwellings being small circular or elliptical huts, with their floors sunk a meter or more below the soil. The type is familiar to us from "hut-urn" ossuaries that have been found in many sections of Etruria and Latium as well as from the actual remains of such huts discovered at Veii, Satricum, and Bologna [3]. The dwellers cremated their dead and placed the ashes in urns which were buried in pit graves. This type of burial is regularly called by the Italians *tombe a pozzo*. The urns for the ashes were the hut urn ossuaries mentioned above or covered earthen jars of biconical shape, or, at a later period, terracotta and bronze vases of various shapes.

These men, almost certainly of the Aryan race, are generally identified with the Umbrians, the name that Herodotus (I 94) and historical tradition after him give to the early inhabitants of Etruria. But the name is correct only in so far as "Umbrian" may be regarded as a designation of an Italic people, not specifically applicable to the inhabitants of the territory later known as Umbria. In spite of the occurrence in Etruria of certain Umbrian place names, notably that of the important river Umbro (now the Ombrone), the general connections of Etruria are with the territory inhabited by the Latins rather than with the region of the Umbro-Sabellic-Oscan tribes, who form the other great Italic language group [4]. The early cremation burials of Etruria, so closely paralleled in Latium, find but the rarest counterparts in Umbria and in Sabine lands where the earliest iron age burials — unfortunately very hard to date — are almost always inhumations [5]. Even the inhumation graves that are frequent in Etruria from the eighth century on correspond in type not with the Umbrian but with the Latian graves [6]. The only Italic dialect that survived in Etruria, the Faliscan, has affiliations not with the Umbro-Sabellic-Oscan language group but with Latin. Furthermore the most characteristic Umbro-Sabellic name forms, those ending in *edius* and *i(e)dius* [7], are conspicuously lacking in Latium and Etruria, whereas they are common in most other sections of central Italy.

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[1] Cf. Peet, *Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily*; Rellini, *Mon. Ant.* XXVI (1920) 1-170.

[2] This fact, long insisted on by the eminent Italian ethnologist, Pigorini, can hardly be doubted now that the transition necropolis of Pianello near Ancona has been found. See Colini, *Bull. di Palet. Ital.* IX (1913) 19-68; X (1914) 121-163.

[3] Pigorini, *Bull. di Palet. Ital.* X (1914) 73-74; Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia* 235 ff.; Grenier, *Bologne villanovienne et étrusque* (1912) ch. III. A study of *Hut Urns and Hut Urn Cemeteries in Etruria and Latium* by Dr. W. R. Bryan is soon to appear in the *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*.

In the eighth century the inhabitants of Etruria and Latium seem gradually to have abandoned cremation for inhumation. The new graves, the so-called *tombe a fossa*, are trenches in which the body is placed, accompanied by arms and by other objects such as were in use during life. This change has often been associated with the coming of the Etruscans [8], but there are serious considerations against such a view[9]. The earliest *fossa* graves differ very little in tomb furniture from the later *pozzo* graves. Indeed Pinza, to whom we owe the most careful investigation of the discoveries from Latium, argues, chiefly on the basis of the graves in the Roman Forum, that the two forms of burial were synchronously in use in Latium from the beginning of the Iron Age[10].

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[4] The most important differences between the civilization of Etruria and Latiun at this period are summarized by Professor Adams in her excellent dissertation, *Studies in the Commerce of Latium* (1921) 21 : " The early differences between Latium and Etruria, whatever their cause, consist almost exclusively in things which Etruria possesses but which do not occur in Latium."

[5] See Peet's article with accompanying map, *Annual of the British School in Rome* IV 285-296, Pl. XXXVIII, and compare von Duhn's interesting comments, *Voretruskische und etruskische Bologna, Präistor, Zeitschrift* V (1913) 472-497.

[6] Cf. Adams, *op. cit.* ch. III. The author constantly emphasizes Etruria's superiority in importations and in variety of tomb furniture but makes it clear that the civilization of the two regions is essentially the same.

[7] Schulten, *Klio* II (1902) 167ff, 440ff ; III (1903) 235ff. The map opposite page 167 of Vol. II shows how these names correspond with districts where the Umbro-Sabellic dialects were spoken. It is interesting to see how closely it accords also with the region of inhumation graves on Peet's map referred to above.

[8] Recently by Adams, *op. cit.* ch. III; Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, 13f.

It is, moreover, significant that, although the Etruscans are generally agreed to have settled first on the coast, the change from cremation to inhumation is more universal in inland cities than it is on the coast[11]. Volaterrae is the only town near the Etruscan coast that shows the complete abandonment of cremation burial which we find in Falerii, the neighboring necropolis of Narce, and Capena, towns in which the Italic element was always strong and in which characteristically "Etruscan" or imported material is rare in the early period. At Tarquinii, though the change from the *pozzo* type to the *fossa* grave is marked, cremation burial survives side by side with inhumation in the so-called *tombe a buco*. At Volci cremation burials are in several cases found in *fossa* graves. At Vetulonia few *fossa* burials have yet been discovered, but there is a peculiar type of grave called the *tomba a circolo*, an enlarged pit grave in which the burials are usually cremations but sometimes in the later examples inhumations. The rich accessory material in these graves, clearly suggesting the arrival of a foreign element, and the form of the tombs, marking the transition to the cupola chamber tombs of Vetulonia's later necropolis, can leave little doubt that even the cremation burials of this type are to be associated with the Etruscans. At Caere, where there is as yet no reliable information for the early necropolis, cremation and inhumation exist together in the splendid seventh century Regulini Galassi tomb[12].

The evidence seems then to justify the conclusion that the change from cremation to inhumation was not due to the Etruscans but took place in many regions before their arrival. Whether the new rite was acquired from the neolithic inhabitants of Italy who are known to have buried their dead or from the other branch of the Italic family, the Umbro-Sabellic tribes[13], who probably themselves acquired the rite from the neolithic peoples, it is impossible to decide, but the latter view seems more probable. There was undoubtedly contact between Sabellic territory — a region in which some of the most significant neolithic deposits of Italy have been discovered — and Latin and Faliscan territory, as we know from countless Sabine connections with Rome and from the Sabine cults of Apollo Soranus and possibly of Feronia in Soracte's region.

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[9] Cf. Körte's careful argument, s. v. *Etrusker*, Pauly-Wissowa, 735 ff; Piganiol, *Essai sur les Origines de Rome* 28ff.

[10] Pinza, *Mon. Ant.* XV 743ff. Cf. Adams *l. c.* against this view.

[11] For an excellent review of the evidence for burial methods provided by the early excavations see Undset, *Annali dell'Inst.* 1885 1-104. For the later material see also Adams and Piganiol, *l. c.*; Grenier, *op. cit. passim*. The material is more fully cited in my discussions of individual towns.

[12] Pinza, *Materiali per la Etnologia toscana-laziale*, introduction, p. XXV.

Phoenician and other eastern merchants found their way to the shores of Etruria at a period when the *pozzo* graves were still in use, and left traces of their visits in the Egyptian scarabs, the glass beads, and the glazed figurines that various Etruscan cities, notably Tarquinii, have brought to light[14]. It must have been particularly the copper mines of north Tuscany that caused them to come to Italy and they must have brought the tin with which the copper was alloyed in local products from the beginning of the Iron Age[15]. The coast was already well known to traders when, in the eighth century, the Etruscans migrated to this region from some section of Asia Minor. Herodotus (I 94) says they came from Lydia and not only do later writers with the single exception of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I 30) accept his story without question, but the Etruscans themselves believed it, and declared it in a document which the people of Sardis, the chief city of Lydia, presented to the Roman senate during the reign of Tiberius (Tacitus, *Ann.* IV 55). It has long been noted that the chamber tombs, hewn in the solid rock, the new architectural form that characterizes the Etruscan arrival in Italy, have their closest parallels in the rock-hewn tombs of Lydia and the neighboring territories of Caria and Phrygia. The Lydian bilingual inscriptions found in the recent American excavations in

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[13] Von Duhn, *l. c.* makes a strong case for this view. The evidence is scattered and far from adequate, and ethnologists and linguists have often pursued their investigations without regard for each other's material.

[14] Adams, *op. cit.* 34ff.

[15] Pinza, *op. cit.* 26.

Sardis are providing very interesting evidence of relationship between the Lydian and the Etruscan languages — connections which, though not yet fully established, may result in vindicating one more important historical tradition[16]. In any case investigations are constantly bringing to light new parallels in culture, in ritual, and in art between the Etruscans and the peoples of Asia Minor[17]. Significant resemblances in place names between Etruria and Crete[18] and significant parallels between Etruscan words and Greek words that seem to be a survival from the language of the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece are revealing other possibilities about the race of the Etruscans[19]. Whether Etruscans and "Pelasgians" are identical or closely related in race is a question that archaeologists and philologists are asking. It was long ago demonstrated by Eduard Meyer that Herodotus's references to Pelasgians living in Italian Cortona, on various Aegean islands, and on the Hellespont were not to be summarily rejected[20]; that indeed Pelasgians and Etruscans were here to be regarded as identical. An inscription found on Lemnos, one of the islands Herodotus mentions, is in a language that bears strong resemblances to Etruscan[21].

Archaeologists and linguists together are gradually dispelling much of the obscurity that surrounds this baffling people. The discoveries in the cemeteries which the Etruscan reverence for the dead stored with treasures are enabling us to reconstruct their economic history. Careful comparative study of the 8500 short inscriptions and of the half a dozen texts of any length that have survived has added largely to Etruscan nomenclature and titles though it has not as yet led to the classification of the language or to the deciphering of the longer texts[22].

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[16] See Littmann, *Lydian Inscriptions, Publications of the American Expedition to Sardis* (1916).

[17] See Körte's summary, s. v. *Etrusker*, Pauly-Wissowa, 743ff. See also Herbig, *Klein-asiatisch-etruskische Namengleichungen, Sitzber. d. königl. Bayr. Akad. d. Wis. Ph-Philol. kl.*, Munich ; Curtis, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* III (1919) 17ff. Cf. Karo's significant study of early Etruscan chronology, *Athen. Mitt.* XLV (1920) 106-156.

[18] Kannengiesser, *Klio* XI 26ff.

[19] See articles in *Glotta* 1921 by Hammarström (211-217) and Kretschmer (276-285).

[20] Eduard Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* 1-134; for an opposing view see Pareti, *Pelasgica, Riv. di filol.* XLVI (1918) 153-206, 307-344.

[21] See Körte-Skutsch, *op. cit.* 732, 782-3.

These newcomers in Italy, called by the Greeks Τυρσηνοί or Τυρρηνοί, but known among themselves by the name Rasenna (Dionysius I 30), were probably induced to leave their Asiatic homes by such conditions of overpopulation and consequent lack of land as led the Ionian Greek cities late in the eighth century to begin their extensive colonization toward east and west[23]. Like the Greeks, the Etruscans probably did not all migrate at once, nor did they all eventually reach the same destination. Some of their number settled in the Aegean islands of Lesbos, Imbros, Samothrace, and Lemnos, from the last named of which has survived the invaluable documentary record of their existence already mentioned[24]. But the largest number came to the west shores of Italy and took up their abode first in the Italic settlements near the coast — Caere, Tarquinii, Volci, and Vetulonia, places that were probably known already to traders of their race. From these regions they gradually spread over a wide area, attracted by the mineral wealth of north Tuscany and the rich agricultural land of the Tiber valley to the east and south. What happened in general was probably not a conquest, for except at Vetulonia, where the neighboring copper mines with consequent industrial possibilities may have attracted a larger migration, the cemeteries provide no evidence for the sudden arrival of numerous foreigners[25]. It was rather a "peaceful penetration" by which the Etruscans in increasing numbers came to Italic communities, settled with the native inhabitants, and, through the superior culture which was theirs by inheritance and by the contacts which they maintained with the outside world, often became the dominant force and secured for one of their number despotic power in the Italic towns of Etruria and Latium. There was no founding of new colonies such as characterized Greek expansion. With the possible exception of Volsinii every city of Etruria was already an Italic settlement. There was, moreover, no such maintenance of racial individuality and of language, customs, and religion as the Greeks, like the English centuries later, were able to achieve in new surroundings. The extraordinary mingling of Etruscan and Latin names which Schulze's epoch-making investigations have demonstrated[26] shows how in many places Etruscans and Latins intermarried and eventually became amalgamated. The results of the present study of local cults in Etruria will show how the Etruscans absorbed and made their own the religion of the native inhabitants. Their language, to be sure, long persisted, especially in the north, where, since the immigrants were perhaps more numerous and the natives less hardy, Etruscan eventually replaced in large measure the vernacular[27]. In the south, however, where the teeming native population must always have been greatly in the majority, the Etruscan tongue could never have been widely spoken. From Veii, the most important city of south Etruria, no Etruscan inscriptions have so far been published. The bulk of Veii's population, like the neighboring Faliscans and Capenates, probably spoke a Latin dialect, though the kings and the nobles doubtless spoke Etruscan[28].

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[22] On Etruscan language see Skutsch, s. v. *Etrusker*, Pauly-Wissowa, 770ff, and the summaries of recent literature given by Hartmann every year in *Glotta*.

[23] See Gwynn's article on the character of Greek colonisation, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XXXVIII (1918) 88-123.

[24] Herodotus I 57 ; II 51 ; V 26 ; VI 140.

[25] These are the so-called *ripostigli stranieri* described by Körte, 740 ; on the absence of evidence for conquest in other cemeteries see Colini's recent discussion of Veii, *Notizie* 1919, 1-12, and Pinza, *op. cit.* 371ff. Karo, *op. cit.* 116-117 notes that Vetulonia and the northern cities, while showing numerous Oriental importations, provide little of the evidence for connections with Greek lands which the south Etruscan cities show.

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[26] Schulze, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen, Abhandlungen der göttingischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1904.

[27] Yet Herbig's investigation of the name forms of Clusium and Orvieto, *Indogerm. Forschungen* XXVI (1909), 367-380 shows how strong Italic elements are in the late inscriptions of Clusium. Cf. also E. Lattes, *Klio* XII (1912) 377-386.

[28] In view of the considerable evidence that has lately been collected by Mackail, Warde Fowler, Carcopino, and others for Vergil's antiquarian interests in the *Aeneid*, it is worth while to consider his treatment of the Etruscans. The poet reverts to an early tradition (given by Lycophron 1240ff. from Timaeus) which made Aeneas ally himself with the Etruscans on coming to Italy. Livy's account (I 1), which gives the accepted tradition in Vergil's day, makes Aeneas and the Latins fight against the Rutuli and the Etruscans under the leadership of Mezentius. Vergil represents Mezentius as an expelled tyrant of Caere whom the Rutuli have befriended. The Etruscans, following a soothsayer, are seeking a foreign ruler against the Rutuli; Evander whom they desired is too old for the task and his son Pallas is unfitted by the blood of his Sabine mother. Aeneas is proposed by Evander and henceforth

The mingling of the Etruscans with the natives can be most clearly seen at Rome, a town which became prominent in the sixth century, long after Caere, Veii and Praeneste were wealthy and powerful. Τήν τε Ῥώμην αὐτὴν πολλοὶ τῶν συγγραφέων τυρρηνίδα πόλιν εἶναι ὑπέλαβον, says Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I 29) and the evidence that has accumulated in the last two decades can leave no doubt as to the truth of his statement[29]. The very name of the city is perhaps to be referred to the Etruscan *gens* ruma[30]. The three early tribes, the Ramnes, Tities, and Luceres, and two of the city's early gates, the Ratumenna and the Capena, seem to take their names from Tuscan families (Schulze 579 f.). Many of the most important patrician names are Etruscan. The dynasty of the Tarquinii, which built the great temple of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, is to be associated with the Tuscan family, Tarchna, known from many sections of Etruria, and particularly from the town to which they gave their name (Schulze, 95-6). Servius Tullius, whose name is attached to the city's first wall, is, Claudius tells us (*CIL*. XIII 1668), identical with the Etruscan Mastarna[31], a hero known from a wall-painting at Volci. There is good reason to assign to Etruscans the organization into a single city of the scattered hamlets on Palatine, Quirinal, and Esquiline, and the construction of the city's earliest wall and of her most truly national temple. The method by which the Etruscans obtained power over the native population may well be illustrated by the familiar story of the coming of Tarquinius Priscus to Rome and his gradual acquisition of influence and eventually of monarchi-

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Trojans and Etruscans are allies. The two are regarded as related people ; indeed Dardanus, the founder of the Trojan race, is said by Vergil to have come from Italy (VII 209) : Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede profectum. Perhaps it is not too fanciful to think that Vergil (XII 824ff) when he put into Juno's mouth the stipulation that the Trojan name and the Trojan language were not to persist in Latium had in mind the conquest of Latium in the south as contrasted with the persistence of a foreign tongue and a foreign race — the Etruscans — in the north.

[29] Schulze's study of Etruscan and Latin names has brought together the most conclusive evidence on the subject. Cf. also Graffunder, s. v. *Rom*. Pauly-Wissowa ; Adams, *op. cit*. ch. V.

[30] See however Herbig's revival of the ancient etymology, Roma from *rumin* the early Latin word for breast, *Berliner Philol. Woch.* XXXVI (1916) 1440-1448, 1472-1480.

[31] Cf. Körte, *Jahrbuch des k. d. arch. Inst*. 1897, 57ff. and Schulze, 95-6.

cal power. Many other Italic settlements must have had an experience with Etruscan immigrants very similar to Rome's.

The exploitation of mines in the north, and, still more, the intensive agricultural development of the Tiber valley, the importance of which has only recently come to be realized[32], provided the Etruscan nobility with the wealth to engage in foreign trade and to support local industries. The rich seventh century tombs of Vetulonia, Caere, and Praeneste are stored with the wares of Phoenician merchants and with local products in bronze and gold, charmingly engraved silver bowls, ivory plaques with delicate relief, and the granulated jewelry manufactured at more than one Etruscan site[33].

In the sixth century Etruscan prestige reached its height in the outside world and Etruscan power gained its widest extent within the boundaries of Italy. Carthaginian vessels brought all kinds of luxuries to Etruscan ports and Etruscan ships went south to the Sicilian straits, carrying back the wares that Greek traders had brought from Corinth and the Ionian cities. Not only legitimate traders from Etruria but numerous freebooters as well plied the seas and gave the Etruscans a name among Greeks for piracy that the entire people can hardly have deserved[34]. The Carthaginians became the allies of the Etruscans and struck treaties with individual cities or groups of cities[35] similar no doubt to the treaty which Polybius has preserved from the early years of the Roman Republic — a document which, as recent scholars have urged, seems a direct inheritance from the Etruscan princes in power at Rome[36]. The Etruscans, like the Romans at a later period, were doubtless far more limited by these treaties than the Carthaginians, for whereas Carthaginian skippers had free access to the ports of Etruria, there is reason to believe that the Etruscan ships seldom went beyond the Tyrrhenian Sea. About 538 Carthaginians and Etruscans — perhaps the people of Caere only — doubtless fearing the usurpation of their markets by the Greeks, together destroyed the Phocaean colony of Alalia on the island of Corsica (Herodotus I 166). Yet the relations of Etruscans and Greeks were not always unfriendly. The name Pyrgi of the port of Caere, the Etruscan city which the Greeks knew best, and significantly enough under the Punic name Ἄγυλλα, suggests that Greek traders came to Caere. The Caerites themselves, probably not later than the early fifth century, built a treasury at Delphi, and Arimnestus, the king of some unknown Etruscan city, dedicated to Zeus at Olympia a throne which Pausanias (V 12, 5) calls the first offering made to the god by a barbarian. The Ionic influence seen in the painting of the fine early tombs of Tarquinii[37], in the famous bronze wolf of the Capitol, and in the splendid terracottas of Caere, Satricum, and particularly Veii, where striking confirmation for the tradition recording a school of sculptors in terracotta has recently come to light, can only be explained by the actual presence of Ionian artists in Etruria and Latium, and by the consequent continuance of contacts that must have begun before the Etruscans left their eastern home. Greek artisans' marks have been recognized on the walls of a tomb of Tarquinii[38]. Two Greek artists came to Rome in 493 and adorned with painting and sculpture the temple of Ceres on the Aventine Hill[39]. There may well be some truth in the legend of Demaratus of Corinth, the father of Tarquinius Priscus, who left his native land to settle in Tarquinii and brought with him three potters who introduced the plastic art in Italy (Pliny *N. H.* XXXV 152).

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[32] Frank, *Economic History of Rome* ch. III.

[33] Frank, *op. cit.* ch. II to which I am constantly indebted in this discussion of Etruscan trade.

[34] Servius on *Aen.* VIII 479. Strabo, V 3, 5; X 4, 9.

[35] Aristotle, *Pol.* III 9 p. 1280. Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* I 140. See Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, III 628 and Lenschau s. v. *Karthago*, Pauly-Wissowa, 2226.

[36] Frank, *op. cit.* 30 ff; Adams, *op. cit.* ch. VI.

In Italy Etruscan influence was widely extended. The wealthiest cities were still the coast towns, Tarquinii, which, as the home of Tages, Etruscan saga made the religious centre of the land; Caere, best known to the Greeks; and Volci whose monuments speak where tradition is silent. Vetulonia may have suffered a decline at this period, though it is possible that her sixth century necropolis is still to be found. Rusellae and Volaterrae were significant cities of the mining region which Etruscan power was developing, and Volaterrae's port Populonia was growing in importance as the iron mines of Elba came into use. Cortona, the city which the Greek traders who came down from the Po region knew, Clusium, destined to rise toward the end of the century, and Volsinii further to the south were the most important towns of Eastern Etruria, where Perusia and Arretium later developed a greater prominence. In South Etruria just north of the Tiber lay the rich and populous agricultural city of Veii, a town from which one of the gates of the distant Umbrian city Iguvium took its name. Capena and Falerii, the latter of which attained some industrial importance, had come into the hands of Etruscan overlords. South of the Tiber, which then truly deserved the name *Tuscus amnis*, the Etruscans had a wide prestige. Tusculum's name is surely a relic of their dominion and the same, as we have already seen, is probably true of Rome. The latter city with its wide enclosure supported an agricultural population that could hardly have been surpassed in numbers by any Etruscan city except Veii. The shrines of Satricum, Lanuvium, and Velitrae bear witness today to the activities of Etruscan artists. The country of the Rutuli and the Volscians came under Etruscan influence[40] and Antium became a station in the service of Etruscan pirates (Strabo V 3, 5).

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[37] See the excellent reproductions in Weege's *Etruskische Malerei* (1921). Cf. also Poulsen's delightful new book, *Etruscan Tomb Painting* (1921).

[38] Poulsen, *op. cit.* 21.

[39] Varro (ap. Pliny *N. H.* XXXV 154) states that all the temples of Rome built before this one had been constructed in the Tuscan style, but one questions whether there was much difference between Tuscan and Greek.

The accessibility to the sea and the wealth of the towns near the coast easily explain why their soil has brought to light such an abundance of foreign importations, most important among which at this period are the Attic black figured vases for which the chamber tombs of Etruria have provided a safe storehouse through the centuries. In the inland towns the frequency of these vases may serve as a slight indication of the wealth and numbers of Etruscan nobles in the population, though in the present incomplete state of excavations the evidence is far from conclusive. In any case it is of interest that Clusium and Orvieto in the territory of Volsinii are far richer in such discoveries than the cities of Latium or Capena or even Veii — towns in whose large agricultural population the Etruscan element, if we may judge from the absence of Etruscan inscriptions, must have been comparatively small. At Falerii on the other hand, a town which never lost its Italic character, Greek vases are much more frequent — a circumstance which may be due to the large proportion of wealth in the population or to the demands of the native industry in pottery. The splendid terracottas from Veii, and the earlier objects found at Satricum and Velitrae furnish conclusive proof that Greek art exerted a powerful influence on the regions where Attic vases are rare.

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[40] Cato ap. Servius on *Aen.* XI 567.

These cities, in which Etruscan nobles had the ascendancy over the much more numerous native population, were too widely scattered and too insufficiently provided with means of communication to be united by any political organization. There are to be sure traces in Etruria of the old Italic custom by which people of a given religion met together at a common place of worship in a religious league that sometimes acquired a political character. The shrine of Feronia in Capena's territory where tradition records gatherings of Sabines and Latins, and probably also the *fanum Voltumnae*, which was perhaps in the territory of Volsinii, were old Italic cult centres at both of which a great market accompanied the annual religious celebrations. The gatherings at the *fanum Voltumnae*, like the celebrations of the Latins at the shrines of Diana at Aricia and of Iuppiter Latiaris on the Alban mount, later acquired a political character and became the closest approach to a national organization that Etruria had. But in the sixth century, instead of a general Etruscan league, there must have been several loosely joined leagues similar to the group of eight Latin cities for which the dictator Latinus Egerius Baebius made a dedication to Diana of Aricia[41]. One such league may well have been made up of the five north Italian cities that according to Dionysius (III 51) promised to support the Latins against Rome. Perhaps the Latins are identical with the eight cities of the dedication at Aricia, for Rome is not included in that list. The northern cities which Dionysius mentions — Arretium, Clusium, Rusellae, Vetulonia, and Volaterrae — form a unified geographical group that could perfectly well have acted together. Still another and more powerful southern group may be made up of Rome and the coast cities that are mentioned in the earliest Carthaginian treaty — Ardea, Antium, the city of the Laurentes, Circeii, and Tarracina.

[41] See Rosenberg, *Hermes* LIV (1919) 113-173.

The treaties with Carthage which Aristotle mentions must have been made either by small groups like this or by individual cities like Caere, the only town of Etruria known to have joined Carthage in the attack on Alalia. There is no evidence for united action in this period on the part of all the cities of Etruria; the references in Dionysius (III 57 ff.; VI 75) and Florus (I 1, 5) to a league of twelve cities at this time seem to reflect a state of affairs that existed later. Etruria itself had as yet no definite confines and the Τυρρηνοί mentioned by Greek historians are often nothing more than non-Greek Italians. Etruscans and Latins were not as yet united into any opposing leagues, but were in general living together peacefully in the same cities, though the dominant position of the Etruscan overlords was sowing the seeds for future ruptures. The Latin league referred to above included a city of such undoubted Etruscan connections as Tusculum, and Rome under a Tuscan dynasty was constantly at war with Etruscan cities to the north[42]. The Tarquinii seem even to have been removed from power, temporarily at least, by the Etruscan Mastarna (Servius Tullius) who is represented on a wall painting from Volci in combat with the guards of Cneve Tarchu Rumach (Gnaeus Tarquinius Romanus)[43].

Toward the latter part of the sixth century Etruscan nobles went south into Campania, a region already connected commercially with eastern Etruria and Latium, obtained sway over Capua and Nola, and even threatened Cumae[44]. Traces of Etruscan family names in numerous towns of Umbria as well as significant inscriptions from the region afford testimony for the spread of Etruscans to the east[45]. Toward the end of the century they made their way across the Apennines to the north and secured possession of Felsina, the modern Bologna, here as at Rome welding a number of scattered hamlets into one city[46]. On the road over the Apennines Faesulae, and south of Felsina a town of unknown name at Marzabotto, were founded as fastnesses of Etruscan defense. From Felsina the Etruscan princes went on to the Po valley where they became the dominant force in numerous towns. Spina on the Po developed into a harbor which for Greek trade soon rivalled the coast cities of Etruria proper.

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[42] Cf. Dionysius III 57ff.; Florus I 1, 5; Fasti Triumphales, for evidence that Tarquinius Priscus obtained the submission of the cities of Etruria. Livy says nothing about the matter. The combats of the Etruscans with the Tarquinii have been cited to prove that the Tarquinii were not an Etruscan dynasty. See De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* I 371-2. Victories of Servius Tullius over the Etruscans are recorded by Livy I 42; Dionysius IV 27; and the Fasti Triumphales; a treaty of Tarquinius Superbus by Livy I 55.

[43] Lack of interdependence between north and south Etruria is indicated by the differences in the types of jewelry, pottery, and other local products manufactured in the two regions and by the fact that the same moulds are not used for terracotta revetments in north and south. See E. Douglas Van Buren, *Figurative Terracotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium*. See Karo's comments on regional distinctions in Etruria, *op. cit.* 116-117. It is also of interest that when in the late fourth and third centuries coinage was generally introduced south Etruria seems to have adopted the Roman-Campanian standard and north Etruria to have followed the Euboic-Syracusan Standard. See Haeberlin, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* XXVI 229ff. Of interest in this connection are the bronze coins which seem to have been struck in common by Populonia, Vetulonia, and perhaps Clusium. See Sambon, *Monnaies ant. de l'Italie* I 73.

While the Etruscans were thus expanding over large sections of Italy, Etruscan prestige received a check in 509 through the expulsion of the dynasty of the Tarquinii from Rome. Although the Etruscan names found among prominent patricians of the early Republic clearly indicate that the Etruscan element was not altogether driven out, various Etruscan monarchs seem to have feared the results of Rome's rebellion on their despotic power. Certainly the untrustworthy historical tradition records the efforts of several Etruscan cities to restore the Tarquinii to Rome. First Veii and Tarquinii united in their behalf in a war against Rome, and when their efforts met with defeat they summoned to their aid Lars Porsenna of Clusium, a king whose sway was so wide that he is even referred to as king of Etruria. He may have been the leader of the group of north

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[44] Polybius (II 17, 1) states that the Etruscan occupation of Campania was synchronous with their expansion beyond the Apennines. See also Cato ap. Velleius I 7, Cf. the important Etruscan inscriptions of S. Maria di Capua published by Buecheler, *Rh. Mus.* LIV 1ff.

[45] Cf. the inscriptions of Tuder (Fabretti 84, 85, 87-99) and Pisaurum, *CIL* XI 6363. The precautions against the *Tuscum nomen* in the tablets of Iguvium provide further testimony in the matter.

[46] Polybius, *l. c.*; Livy V 33; Diodorus XIV 113; Strabo V 1, 10 and other passages cited by Mueller-Deecke *Die Etrusker* I 125ff. On Bologna's city organization see Ghirardini's statement quoted by Pigorini, *Bull. di. Palet. it.* X (1914) 81. For full details on the evidence in Bologna's cemetery for the coming of the Etruscans see Grenier, *op. cit.* ch. IV.

Etruscan cities already mentioned. How nearly successful his expedition was is evident from Tacitus's statement that the city was actually surrendered (*Hist.* III 72) and from indications that Rome subsequently paid tribute to Etruria[47] (which means no doubt the group of Etruscan cities that Porsenna led). The Latin league was eventually drawn into the war against Porsenna who was prevented from securing final victory by the intervention of Cumae (Livy II, 14) on the side of the Latins. Perhaps Lars Porsenna was the more willing to abandon the expedition because he had a special interest in Etruscan expansion beyond the Apennines. Although tradition associates the founding of Felsina with Perusia[48], the connection of the city's name with the gens Felsnal, Helsu, frequently mentioned in the Etruscan inscriptions of Clusium (Schulze 165, 568), suggests that the new colony was closely related to Clusium. The lack of united action on the part of Etruria at this period is noteworthy. The alliance of Rome and the Latin league, attested by the treaty of Spurius Cassius for the year 493, doubtless did much to unite south Etruria with the north.

Etruscan prestige outside Italy began to decline after the naval defeat off Cumae which Hieron of Syracuse, whom the Cumaeans had summoned to their aid, inflicted on the Etruscans in 474[49]. That battle ended forever the supremacy of Etruria in the Tyrrhenian sea, and foretold the doom of Etruscan trade. Bronze candelabra and furniture and chased vessels of gold from Etruria were to be sure known in Athens late in the fifth century[50]. But the importation of Greek vases into Etruria received a decided check after the defeat at Cumae. Really fine specimens of Red-figured vases of the free style (480-400), though known from Campania and the Po valley, are not common in Etruria proper where the most splendid Black-figured vases and Red-figured vases of the severe style have come to light[51]. The contacts with Greek art in Etruria seem to have become less direct. The fifth century terracottas so far discovered, though evidently done by men who were familiar with the new developments in Greek sculpture, do not achieve the technical originality and beauty of the sixth century terracottas from Veii and Caere. Etruscan pirates continued their depredations, to be sure, but the Syracusans ventured in 453 to lay waste various coast cities as well as portions of the Etruscan islands, Corsica and Elba (Diodorus XI 88). Enmity with Syracuse induced some Etruscans to take part in the Athenian expedition against that city in 413 (Thucydides VI 88, 103; VII 57), but Etruscan power had so far declined that Dionysius's great marauding expedition against Caere's port Pyrgi and its renowned temple of Leukothea in 384 (Diodorus XV 14) met with slight resistance. In contrast to their earlier commercial activity, Etruria and Latium too were extraordinarily out of touch with the rest of the world in the fifth and fourth centuries. Soil exhaustion with the consequent decrease in crops was perhaps the chief cause of the decline.

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[47] Pliny, *N. H.* XXXIV, 139; Plutarch, *Q. R.* 18. Cf. Niese, *Römische Geschichte* 38.

[48] Serv. Dan. on *Aen.* X 198.

[49] Diodorus XI 51; Pindar, *Pyth.* I 140. The Carthaginians seem to have had some part in the battle and to have threatened war for a time afterwards. Cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* I 137. See Meyer *op. cit.* III 627 ff.

[50] Athenaeus I 28b; XV 700c. On the wide dissemination of Etruscan bronze see Hor. *Ep.* II 2, 180; Pliny XXXIV, 34. The latter passage states that the Romans secured 2000 bronze statues from Volsinii, a city that lay at some distance from the mining region.

Within the boundaries of Italy there were constant combats for the Etruscans during the fifth century. In Campania the Etruscan nobility, though now separated from their countrymen in the north, seem to have continued in power until the overlords of Capua were put to death by the Samnite invaders in 445[52]. In Latium the vigorous Latins, whose leadership Rome gradually assumed, drove the Etruscans from every site south of the Tiber except Fidenae, for the possession of which Veii, the nearest city where Etruscans were dominant, waged frequent war with Rome.

In the intervals of the contest there seems to have been much peaceful intercourse between the two regions. Sculptors and artists continued to travel through Etruria and Latium. Fifth century terracotta revetments made from the same mould are found in towns as far separated as Norba and Caere[53]. The north Etruscan cities kept themselves free from Veii's quarrels and maintained friendly relations with Rome, more than once in time of grain shortage helping Rome from their still abundant corn supplies[54].

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[51] Cf. Hauser's comments, Furtwängler-Reichhold-Hauser, *Griechische Vasenmalerei* II 297. A rather summary examination of the vases found in Italy listed in Hoppin's *Handbook of Attic Red Figured Vases* shows that of the vases of the "severe style" (520-480) 81 % were found in Etruria, 14 °/o in Campania, and 5 °/o in the Po valley, while of the vases of the "free style" (480-400) 42 °/o were found in Etruria proper, 45 °/o in Campania and 13 °/o in the Po valley.

[52] Diodorus XII 31 has the following record under the year 445: τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Καμπανῶν συνέστη. This has usually been taken as evidence that Cumae fell in that year rather than at the later date 423 which Livy assigns to the event (IV 37).

Livy's first reference to a general Etruscan league comes in the year 434 when he says that, after the Romans had captured Fidenae, Veientines and Faliscans, in terror over the future, sent envoys *circa duodecim populos Etruriae* and had a council of all Etruria called *ad fanum Voltumnae* (IV 23). The Etruscan gatherings held at this shrine, of which even the location is doubtful, are mentioned only by Livy. From him we learn that, in spite of Veii's reiteration of her dangerous situation, the council held in 433 put off action for a year and warned the people by a decree not to do anything before the next council (IV 25). During the next years, though Fidenae was destroyed and though it constantly became more apparent that Veii and Rome would meet in a death struggle, we hear nothing more of the council. When in 405 the historic ten year siege of Veii had begun, the council deliberated as to whether it should go to Veii's rescue but came to no agreement (IV 61). Two years later, however, aid was definitely refused on the ground that the Veientines had abandoned their annual magistrates and had elected a king; they had moreover chosen for the honor a man who was hated by the Etruscans because, having failed once to secure the election, doubtless at the *fanum Voltumnae*, as *sacerdos Etruriae*, he had withdrawn the actors who were his slaves from the games at the shrine and so had ruined the games and violated the sacred celebration of a *gens ante omnes alias — dedita religionibus* (V 1). At the council in 397 when Falerii and Capena urged that all Etruria combine to aid Veii which was now very hard pressed by the Roman siege, united aid was again refused, this time on the ground that the Veientines had sought no advice about beginning the war and that north Etruria was now threatened by an invasion of the Celts (V 17).

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[53] See E. Douglas Van Buren, *op. cit* 23, 24.

[54] Livy IV 13, 25, 52. The last passage records the transportation of large supplies of grain down the Tiber.

These accounts from Livy indicate an annual celebration at this shrine, to which twelve cities sent representatives and to which merchants came from various parts of Etruria. A priest called in Latin *sacerdos Etruriae* was elected every year to take charge of the ceremonies and games of great splendour — presumably theatrical performances — were celebrated in connection with the religious festival. The gatherings represented moreover a loose political union, which issued decrees that seem to have had an advisory rather than a binding force. The only cities that Livy mentions at the shrine are Veii, Falerii, and Capena, but the references to the threatening power of the Celts show that cities of the north came to the assemblages. His comments seem to indicate that most of Etruria had at this time abandoned the monarchical form of government in favor of a system of annual magistrates.

There can be no doubt that the invasion of the Po region by the Celts was an effective check on Etruscan plans to aid the Veientines. A tradition places on the very same day in 396 the surrender of Veii to Rome and of the Etruscan city Melpum in the Po valley to the Celts[55]. Roman expeditions, in the years following the fall of Veii, into the territory of Veii's allies, Falerii and Capena, resulted in detaching Capena at least from the Etruscan federation and in allying her to the Romans — a status that seems to be indicated by the title that Capena had after it became a Roman *municipium* somewhat later — *municipium Capenatium foederatorum*. Similar agreements seem to have been made with Sutrium and probably with Nepet, cities that shortly afterwards received Latin colonies[56].

The Gallic hordes which had kept the Etruscans from bringing aid to Veii crossed the Apennines in 387, and, as tradition has it, threatened the rich Etruscan city Clusium, which immediately appealed to Rome. That city, which since Veii's fall had doubled her territory and greatly increased her prestige, was probably the Gaul's original objective. In any case the march on Rome served to turn aside a great danger from the Etruscan cities, none of which met with Rome's disastrous fate. The year after the Gallic invasion reports came from merchants at the *Fanum Voltumnae* that the Etruscan chiefs were plotting war (Livy VI 2). Shortly afterwards an army gathered from almost all the Etruscan peoples (*Etruria prope omnis armata*, Livy VI 3), hoping doubtless to wrest some of their former territory from Rome in her weakened state, began hostilities against Rome. The war centered largely around Sutrium and Nepet, places of great strategic importance since the former controlled the line of communication with the north and the latter commanded the road to the powerful city of Falerii. After the Romans were victorious these two towns were safeguarded by Latin colonies, the first established outside Volscian territory.

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[55] Nepos ap. Pliny *N. H.* III 125.

[56] Full citations of sources will be found in the accounts of individual cities.

During this interval we have one significant record of Etruscan influence at Rome. In 364, in order to placate the gods when a pestilence was raging at Rome, *ludi scaenici* — a new thing for a warlike people — were instituted at Rome. The actors, according to Livy's famous description (VII 2), were summoned from Etruria for the occasion; they were nothing more than pantomimists who *ad tibicinis modos saltantes haud indecoros motus more Tusco dabant*. One will recall the *ludi scaenici* with hired *artifices* which the future king of Veii broke up at the *fanum Voltumane*. Whatever our attitude toward Livy's complicated account of the beginning of the Roman drama, there is no reason to doubt that the performances and the actors came from Etruria (vernaculis artificibus quia ister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum).

For almost thirty years, while Rome was occupied with wars against the Volscians and the Hernicans, there seems to have been unbroken peace with the Etruscan cities. But from 358 to 351 Tarquinii and Falerii, now the most powerful cities of south Etruria, engaged in a bitter war with Rome, a contest that centered largely about the possession of the salt works on the north bank of the Tiber[57]. All or much of the rest of Etruria finally joined in the war, even including the Caerites, who of all the Etruscans had been most friendly to Rome. The war ended in a truce of a hundred years with Caere and of forty years with Tarquinii and Falerii. From this time until the cities of Etruria entered into alliance with Rome early in the third century, the various towns, when not at actual war with

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[57] See Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* 18 ff.; Frank, *Classical Philology* XIV (1919) 317ff.

Rome, were always under a truce concluded regularly for a definite period of years. Requests made by individual cities for a lasting treaty instead of these *indutiae*, which Rome maintained with no other people, were several times refused, perhaps because of lack of faith in the Etruscans [58]. The fact that the truces were generally observed is probably due not to any extraordinary sense of honor on the part of the Etruscans but to the severity of the conditions made by the Romans. It is noteworthy that the *indutiae* seem regularly to have been concluded with individual cities and never with the league; there are indeed no more allusions in Livy to the league gatherings and common deliberations after the year 386, although several wars of a group of Etruscan cities against Rome are recorded.

The first city to be received into alliance with Rome was Falerii, which in 343, moved, Livy says (VII 38), by Rome's success against the Samnites, exchanged the state of truce for an alliance with Rome, and henceforth ceased to be a member of the Etruscan league. From that time on the Etruscan language probably began to die out in Falerii, and, as in Capena also, the local dialect, a form of Latin, always no doubt spoken by a large majority of the inhabitants, became the regular official language. At some time before the end of the century, Caere, perhaps because of some infringement of her unexpired truce, was deprived of her independence and incorporated into the Roman domain with half rights, a political status which Caere was the first city to acquire. In this city, however, a coast town where the Etruscan nobles must have been numerous, the Etruscan language continued to be used, a fact that is attested by discoveries of Etruscan inscriptions and by references to Roman boys who were sent to Caere to learn the Etruscan language and to Caerites who acted as interpreters in the Roman army.

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[58] For a full discussion see Phillipson *International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome* II 290ff; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III 1165. Truces for a year such as Decius made with the Etruscans in 308 (Livy IX 41) or such as was entered into with Falerii after her rebellion of 293 (X 46) might be made on the authority of the commanding general and that fact may explain why a *pax* or a *foedus* which depended on the senate was not granted on these two occasions. But truces for a longer term were regularly entered into, like a *foedus*, on the authority of the senate, and there are several cases where Etruscan cities were forced to accept long truces instead of a *pax* or a *foedus*. Cf. Livy I 15 (under Romulus); VII 20; IX 37; X 5; X 37. In general Livy seems to use *pax* practically as a synonym of *foedus* in contrast to *indutiae*, but in VII 20 the case is somewhat different; pax populo Caeriti data, indutiasque in centum annos factas in senatus consultum referri placuit. The only long term truce known to have been made with another Italic people was made with the Aequi in 430 B. C. for eight years (Livy IV 30).

The years between Falerii's defection from the league and Caere's incorporation in Roman territory before 310 form, I believe, the period in which we can constitute a list of twelve cities that made up the league[59]. The tradition that the Etruscan league was made up of twelve members, though a persistent one, can be traced to no early source. Strabo (V 2, 2) says that Tyrrhenos, the nations' eponymous hero, founded twelve cities when he came to Etruria, and Livy refers a number of times to the twelve cities that met at the shrine of Voltumna, and mentions a similar group of twelve cities founded in the Po valley. The references to the origin of the twelve lictors from the twelve cities all belong to later sources, though they may indicate the existence of a league at a time when the Etruscans were still under monarchical government. Through a comparison of the lists of Etruscan cities mentioned by Dionysius, Livy, and Diodorus, and of the cities known to have participated in the imperial revival of the league[60], Bormann has reconstituted the following list of twelve cities : Arretium, Caere, Clusium, Cortona, Perusia, Populonia, Rusellae, Tarquinii, Vetulonia, Volaterrae, Volci and Volsinii. The list omits Veii, Falerii, and Capena, cities that are known to have acted with the Etruscan league in the late fifth or early fourth century and to have dropped out of it later. It includes eight cities that can be shown to have taken part in the imperial reorganization of the Etruscan league of fifteen cities. It seems to be substantially correct for the period immediately following 343. There is no evidence to show that the league continued to gather at the *fanum Voltumnae*, which is not mentioned after 386 B. C., though we should naturally expect the Etruscans, like the Latins, to continue to hold their gatherings in the same region. But Rosenberg's interpretation of a group of Etruscan inscriptions makes it probable that the league sometimes met elsewhere — namely at Clusium, which, as the city of Lars Porsenna, acquired a prominent position in north Etruria, and at Tarquinii, which, as the centre of the *Etrusca disciplina*, held a special preeminence[61].

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[59] Dionysius mentions twelve cities in Etruria in the regal period (III 57ff) but except in I 8 where he is discussing the origin of the lictors Livy does not refer to them earlier than 434. The Etruscans are said to have founded additional leagues of twelve cities each in the Po valley and in Campania. Cf. Livy V 33 ; Strabo V 4, 3. Archaeological discoveries show that there must have been more than twelve cities in Etruria at this time but some of them were probably under the jurisdiction of their more powerful neighbors and so lacked independent representation in the league.

[60] Bormann *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* XI (1887) 103-126. The lists which Bormann quotes are those of Dionysius of Halic. III 51 (regal period) mentioning the Κλουσῖνοι, ’Αρρητῖνοι, Οὐολατερρανοί, ‘Ρουσιλανοί, and Οὐετυλωνιᾶται ; Diodorus XX 35 (cf. Livy IX 37) of 310 B. C. mentioning ’Αρρητῖνοι, Κροτωνιάται, and Περουσῖνοι ; Livy X 37 of 294 mentioning Volsinii, Perusia, and Arretium ; Livy XXVIII 45 giving a list of the cities that contributed to Scipio's equipment in 205 : Arretini, Caerites, Clusini, Perusini, Populonienses, Rusellani, Tarquinienses, Volaterrani. To these names must be added the three names on the relief of the Etruscan league found in the theatre of Caere : Tarquinienses, V[ol]centani, Vetulonenses.

For forty years, as long, that is, as the truce with Tarquinii lasted, there was no outbreak of hostility between Rome and Etruria, but in the year 312 preparations were made for a great war in support of the Samnites, in which all the cities of Etruria except Falerii, now Rome's ally, and probably Caere seem to have participated. The contest, which began with the siege of Sutrium in 311, is famous for the bold move of the Roman consul Quintus Marcius Rutilus in leading his forces through the unknown and almost impassable intricacies of the Ciminian forest. This march of the consul led to the recall of the forces of Arretium, Cortona, and Perusia from the war and to a consequent truce with these cities concluded in 310 for thirty years (Livy IX 37) but later violated. The whole war ended in 308, Tarquinii, doubtless through the sacrifice of much of her territory, securing a truce for 40 years, and the rest of Etruria, having failed to secure a treaty of alliance, obtaining a truce that had to be renewed annually. The original terms of the armistice exacted the entire pay of the opposing Roman army for a year and the gift of two tunics apiece to the soldiers (Livy IX 41).

Uprisings were frequent in Etruria for the next thirty years. The cities united with Samnites and Celts to press hard upon the Romans. Moreover the nobility of Etruria, who were now decadent and overbearing, often appealed to Rome for aid against their rebellious people. In 302, the Arretini, in an effort to expel their most powerful family, Maecenas's ancestors the Cilnii, provoked a rebellion which required Rome's intervention ; according to some of Livy's sources the rebellion extended over much of Etruria and resulted in a request for peace which was refused by the senate, a truce for two years being granted instead (Livy X 5). In 299 Gauls and Etruscans came as far south as the Tiber and laid waste the land (Polyb. II 19). In 298 the Etruscans suffered a defeat at Volaterrae, for which a Roman triumph was celebrated (Livy X 12 ; cf. *Fasti triumphales*) ; in 296 there was another victory over the Etruscans (Livy X 19). From 296 to 294 most of Etruria seems to have been in arms, joining with Samnites and Celts against the Romans. After Rusellae was taken in 294, Volsinii, Perusia, and Arretium all entered into a truce for a period of forty years. The Faliscans, who had not taken part in the general Etruscan wars of 311 and 296, whose city had indeed served at times as a base of operations for the Roman armies, rebelled in 293 with other Etruscan cities. The rebellion was speedily quelled and Falerii, after a truce of a year, returned to her alliance with Rome. Between 296 and 286 a citizen colony, the first in Etruria, was established at Castrum Novum[62]. From 284 to 280 most of Etruria in alliance with Celts and later with Samnites involved Rome in constant war. The Celtic tribes, the Senones and the Boii, were both defeated with the Etruscans, the Boii and Etruscans suffering a terrific reverse at the Vadimonian Lake (Polybius II 20). A Roman victory over Volci and Volsinii in 280 which resulted in a triumph seems to have led up to the final conclusion of peace with Etruscan cities — a peace that the Romans were perhaps particularly glad to make since, after the victory of Heraclea, Pyrrhus, on the march north, is said to have had bold plans of uniting with the Etruscans. The results of the peace were severe for Volci, which must then have been deprived of the territory assigned seven years later to the Latin colony Cosa. From this period probably date the treaties of alliance with most of the Etruscan cities[63].

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[61] See Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker* (1913) 51-71. His interpretation of the inscriptions depends in large measure on Torp's study of the names of Etruscan magistrates, *Skrifter udgvne af Videnskab Selskabt*, Christiania, *Hist. Phil. Kl.* 1905.

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[62] It was at the Etruscan town and not at the Picene town of the same name that the colony was established. See Frank, *Roman Imperialism* 82-3. On colonies n Etruria see Kornemann, s. v. *coloniae*, Pauly-Wissowa.

After this period there is no further record of concerted action by the Etruscan cities against Rome though rebellions of individual cities are recorded. An uprising at Caere in 273 caused half the city's territory to be taken away. Volsinii's so-called slave war in 265, really an uprising, fostered perhaps by the Roman democracy, against the oppression of the city's decadent nobles, and Falerii's rebellion in 241, for which our information is less detailed, led Rome to move the two cities to new and less defensible sites though their status as allies was probably not changed[64]. During the closing years of the First Punic War the Etruscan coast just north of Rome was secured against Carthaginian attack by citizen colonies founded at Alsium in 247, at Fregenae in 245, and at Pyrgi probably about the same period. During the Second Punic War there was an uprising in Etruria provoked by the Arretini, whose nobles in this case showed themselves unfavorable to Rome. It became so serious that 120 children of senators had to be extorted from the city as hostages (Livy XXVII 21, 22, 24). Perhaps it was partly in atonement for this uprising that eight Etruscan cities, and among them Arretium particularly, made generous contributions to Scipio's fleet in 205[65]. During the second century the region was menaced by the Ligurians on the north. Against them a Latin colony was established in 180 at Pisae (*Class. Phil.* XVI 27 ff.) and a citizen colony in 177 at Luna, cities which the boundaries of Etruria had not yet been extended to include. In the period of active colonization that marked the beginning of this century citizen colonies were established at Graviscae in Tarquinii's territory and at the inland town Saturnia. The population of Etruria must steadily have declined in numbers as well as in energy. The reliefs on the cinerary sarcophagi of Perugia, Chiusi and Volterra from this period show the fat and decadent figures who earned the name *pingues et obesi Etrusci*[66]. The Etruscan language, though still much used in the grave monuments of Perugia and Chiusi, was beginning to die out and the names in Etruscan inscriptions show a thorough blending of Etruscan and Italic stock. This decline in population must have been in part due to malaria that was already beginning to make inroads[67]. The abandonment of the copper mines of Etruria in favor of the much more easily available supplies of Spain and Sardinia must also have been a factor. The process of road building too was extraordinarily slow in Etruria. The Via Flaminia built in 224 passed through only a small section of eastern Etruria. From 187 Arretium was reached by a road over the mountains from Bononia, but Rome had no good connections with north Etruria until the Clodia and the Cassia were built late in the second century[68].

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[63] De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* II 359, would date them in 294.

[64] See Frank, *Klio* XI (1911) 376ff ; *Roman Imperialism* 51.

[65] Livy XXVIII 45 : Etruriae primum populi pro suis quisque facultatibus consulem adiuturos polliciti, Caerites frumentum sociis navalibus commeatumque omnis generis, Populonienses ferrum, Tarquinienses lintea in vela, Volaterrani interamenta navium et frumentum, Arretini tria millia scutorum, galeas totidem, pila, gaesa, hastas longas, millium quinquaginta summam pari cuiusque generis numero expleturos, secures, rutra, falces, alveolos, molas quantum in quadraginta longasna ves opus esset, tritici centum et viginti millia modium, et in viaticum decurionibus remigibusque collaturos ; Perusini, Clusini, Rusellani abietes in fabricandas naves et frumenti magnum numerum ; abiete ex publicis silvis est usus. Livy's previous designation of the cities that contributed as *socii* is probably correct for all except the Caerites who must at that time have been *cives sine suffragio*.

In 137 Etruria's depopulation had proceeded so far that Tiberius Gracchus, journeying through the region and seeing that such inadequate cultivation as was being attempted in the country was all in the hands of slave labor, conceived the idea of his widespread land reforms (Plutarch, *Tib. Gracch.* 8). But the condition of affairs grew steadily worse. The Etruscan allies took no part in the Social War, and, in consequence of having kept clear of the combat, received citizenship by the *Lex Iulia* in 89 B. C. In the civil war between Marius and Sulla several towns of Etruria espoused the cause of Marius. That fact explains the sieges, the confiscations, and the diminution of civil rights which Sulla inflicted on the cities of north Etruria. Volaterrae and Arretium had their charters revised with serious limitations of their rights. Arretium, Faesulae, and probably Clusium and the new town Florentia received colonies of Sulla's veterans for whom large sections of land were confiscated. The spend-thrift veterans who had wastefully squandered what they had received and the injured inhabitants who had been dispossessed made Etruria a fertile field for Catiline and his agitators (Sallust, *Catiline* 28). It was at Faesulae that he gathered his army and in the mountains to the north that he fought to the bitter end.

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[66] Vergil, *Georg.* II 193; Catullus 39, 11.

[67] See W. H. S. Jones, *Malaria* (1907) 61.

[68] On the date when these roads were built see Kiepert, *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, Pl. XX, Text, p. 5, and the discussion of Forum Clodi in this study.

We hear little of Etruria and its affairs after the suppression of the Catilinarian conspiracy. Like other sections of Italy it received various colonies from the triumvirs and from Augustus. The boundaries of the administrative region were twice extended, once by Sulla to include Faesulae, Florentia, and Pisae, and again by Augustus when Etruria, now the seventh region of Italy, was made to include Luna and Luca (Nissen I 71). Pliny's list of Augustan communities in Italy mentions forty-nine towns of independent municipal organization in Etruria; some thirty of the number can be shown to have existed in Etruscan times. Many of the towns were small and almost unknown. Some of the once prosperous Etruscan cities like Rusellae, Populonia and Vetulonia had been reduced to barrenness. The population of the region was probably less numerous than that of Umbria, which was only half its size. The most important cities at this time were in the northeast, Arretium, the centre of the great vase industry, the new city Florentia, Perusia, and Clusium. The coast cities to the south were already falling into the state of decay that until the gradual improvement of the last decade has made the Tuscan "Maremma" a byword for disease and desolation. When, early in the fifth century, the poet Rutilius Namatianus coasted along the Tuscan shore, he saw much the same scene of barren waste that impresses every modern traveller on the railway line from Pisa to Rome.

One relic of old-time Etruscan prestige persisted under the Empire. The Etruscan league, no longer in any sense a political institution, had annual gatherings and celebrated games throughout the early centuries of our era. The league probably died out in the late Republic and was reorganized, either as Borman has suggested, by Augustus — perhaps at the instigation of Maecenas, the *Tyrrhena regum progenies* of the court poet, or, as seems more likely, by Claudius whose antiquarian interest in Etruria may have prompted him to restore an old institution. In its purely religious organization this league kept alive some memory of Etruria's former greatness.

1. VEII AND ITS TERRITORY.

The nearness of this city to Rome accounts in part for the importance of Veii in the tradition; yet its great size, unequalled by any Etruscan city except Rome, shows that its population must have been very large. The fact that one of the gates of the far away Umbrian city of Iguvium was at an early period known as the Porta Veia gives some indication of the city's wide influence. The location of Veii, strangely enough long a matter of dispute, is established by imperial inscriptions discovered on the splendid site of Isola Farnese near the Via Cassia twelve miles north of Rome[1]. The wide extent of the city's walls accords with the comments of Dionysius (II 54), who even ventures to compare Veii's size with that of Athens[2].

Recent excavations, the first extensive ones that have been carried on with scientific method, have proved that Veii, like Rome and most of the Etruscan cities, was once the home of a Villanova civilization; that here the cremation pit graves gave place to inhumation shaft graves which became most usual in the orientalizing period; that these in turn made way for chamber tombs in which both inhumation and cremation took place. The tombs so far discovered are, like the tombs of Rome, conspicuously lacking in imported objects such as filled the cemeteries of Caere, Tarquinii and Volci.[3] This fact is probably to be explained by the large agricultural population of Veii, attested by the evidences of intensive cultivation in the region. The Etruscan overlords must have formed a very small proportion of the population; they have so far supplied us with no Etruscan inscriptions.

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[1] Excavations with the sole purpose of making finds were carried on here at intervals in the first half of the nineteenth century. The excavation reported by Lanciani, *Notizie* 1889, *passim*, had nothing of the importance of the recent work, a tentative report of which was written by Colini just before his death. See *Notizie* 1919, 1-12.

[2] Veii's name like the names of Tarquinii, Falerii, and Volsinii is evidently a family name. Cf. Schulze 251 where the Etruscan origin of Veii is questioned.

Although the necropolis of Veii shows few foreign importations, fragments of Attic vases have been found among the heaps of votive offerings in the shrines. Moreover the influence of Ionic art is strong in the decoration of the Grotta Campana, probably the earliest known Etruscan tomb paintings, and in the recently discovered terracottas from a shrine of Veii,[4] the finest statues that have come to light in Etruria. These statues, once the adornment of a temple precinct, challenge comparison with the finest Ionic sculpture of the period to which they belong — about the year 500 B. C. Ionian artists must have brought the inspiration for such work; indeed if it were not for the definite tradition that there existed at Veii a school of sculpture in terracotta, and that a certain Vulca of Veii was commissioned to make the statue of Jupiter for the Capitolium at Rome[5], we should be inclined to say that only a Greek artist could have made the splendid archaic Apollo that is now the chief glory of the Museo di Villa Giulia at Rome. No discovery hitherto made in Etruria is so significant for the evidence it provides of the close connection of Etruscan culture in the late sixth century with the Ionic Greek, and the evidence is the more suggestive because, granted the close proximity of Rome to Veii and the relations Rome had with Veientine artists, a similar influence must have found its way to Rome.

But this friendly intercourse with sculptors finds no place in the records of the historians who confine themselves to narratives of wars in which Rome and Veii, from the time of Romulus, are always arrayed on opposite sides, and the Romans are always eventually the victors. In these accounts Fidenae plays an important part. When the Tarquins were expelled, Veii, fearing no doubt the fall of her own monarchical system, bent her energies toward arraying other Etruscan cities against Rome. During the first century of the Republic, the struggles between the two cities, accounts of which are drawn largely from the annals of the Fabii, centered chiefly about Fidenae, a town on the south bank of the Tiber which Veii tried in vain to keep from Roman power. When in 434 Fidenae was destroyed, it was apparent that a great struggle between Rome and Veii could not long be postponed.

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[3] Colini, *l. c.* 9, who however suggests that the absence of Greek vases may be due to failure to find the necropolis of the period.

[4] See Giglioli's brilliant investigation of these statues, *Notizie* 1919, 13-37 with plates I-VII.

[5] Pliny *N. H.* XXXV 157; cf. Giglioli, 30-31.

Veii must at one time have been counted as one of the chief cities of Etruria, for late in the fifth century one of Veii's citizens desired to become *sacerdos* of the Etruscan league (Livy V 1). Like all Etruscan cities, Veii seems originally to have been under a monarchical government [6]. Later, apparently after having tried the republican form of government, she returned to the monarchy, thereby, according to Livy, forfeiting the support of the other Etruscan cities at the beginning of her great war with Rome.

The details of this contest, Rome's " Trojan war," with the consultation of the Delphic oracle, the consequent draining of the Alban Lake, and the final capture of the city by means of a tunnel bored into the citadel, are too familiar to require recapitulation. The city seems not to have been demolished in 396 B. C. when it fell, for when, a few years later, Rome was seized by the Gauls a large portion of Rome's inhabitants took up their abode at Veii and after the Gauls evacuated Rome the proposition was seriously entertained of leaving Rome's demolished site for the abandoned houses of Veii. From later references to *prodigia* [7] it is probable that there continued to exist on the site a small settlement that perhaps served as a market place for the Romans of the Tromentina ward, which was established after Veii's *ager* was distributed. These men probably continued to worship at the shrines of the

[6] Veientine kings of an unknown epoch, the former of whom was said to have colonized Capena, are mentioned by Servius on *Aen*. VII 697, VIII 285. Lars Tolumnius, a king of Veii, is referred to in Livy IV 32, 4 under the year 426 ; apparently after that the Veientes assumed a republican form of government and then again formed a monarchy in 403 (Livy V 1, 3).

[7] Livy XXVII 37 ; XXXII 9 ; XLI 21 ; XLII 2. Cf. Cicero, *de leg. agr.* II 96.

gods which show votive material belonging to a period later than Veii's fall; yet the lack of evidence for continued use of the tombs would indicate that the population was sparse.

Propertius's familiar description of the loneliness of the spot would almost fit Veii today (IV 10, 27-30):

> Heu Vei veteres ! et vos tum regna fuistis,
> Et vestro positast aurea sella foro ;
> Nunc intra muros pastoris bucina lenti
> Cantat, et in vestris ossibus arva metunt.

It was apparently in the Augustan Age — perhaps after Propertius wrote these lines — that Veii was to some extent revived; yet it is indicative of the uninterrupted habitation of the spot that its reorganization was not as a colony but as the *municipium Augustum Veiens*. As such it seems to have gained some importance. The fine columns that today adorn the Piazza Colonna in Rome came from the restored city and numerous inscriptions show its flourishing state. Of some interest is a record of a meeting of the municipal senate — the *centumviri* of Veii — that took place in 26 A. D. in the temple of Venus Genetrix at Rome (*CIL* XI 3805).

Several discoveries of religious importance at Veii cannot as yet be associated with any definite cult. Preeminent among these is the group of splendid terracottas dating about 500 that were found in May 1916 and have been published by Professor Giglioli. The complete facts about the temple to the precinct of which the statues belonged have not as yet been published [8]; it was at the beginning of the excavations that they were discovered near the temple in a spot where they seem to have been buried in ancient times. The temple, like a number of other Etruscan shrines, had three *cellae*. It lay on an elevation across the gulley from the modern settlement of Isola Farnese, about half way up the cliff that leads to Etruscan Veii. Through its precinct in later times ran a Roman road. On the temple site and in the valley below have been found numerous fragments of tiles, antefixes, and votive offerings in terracotta and bronze, among them apparently Etrusco-Campanian vases that date long after the Roman conquest of Veii. Some of the antefixes show Ionic work of the same period and the same splendid style as the terracotta figures. The best preserved figure is a life-sized male of an undoubted Apollo type, clothed in chiton and himation, with long flowing locks. He is represented as striding to the right and was evidently intended to be seen from the right side. With this figure were found part of another male figure, identified by fragments of the lion's skin as Herakles, and the body of an animal that seems to be a hind. A male head discovered with these must from its winged helmet have belonged to a statue of Hermes. The combination of Apollo, Herakles, and the hind Giglioli connects with a scene found on a number of Greek vases representing Apollo and Herakles in contest over a hind ; he suggests that it may represent an attempt on Herakles's part to steal a sacred hind from Delphi. Hermes was, he thinks, a spectator in the scene as represented at Veii. The height of the figures led Giglioli to conclude that they cannot have served as pediment sculptures and that their use as *akroteria* is improbable. He inclines to the view that they made up a votive group dedicated within the temple precinct.

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[8] Cf. Colini's tentative comments in the incomplete report so far given of the excavations.

In excavations of 1888-9 in the valley between the Etruscan city and the so called Piazza d'Armi which is generally identified as the acropolis of Veii were found some 2000 *ex voto* terracottas that belonged to a shrine [9]. They included 447 veiled heads of a woman, other male and female heads, parts of the body including hands, fingers, feet, ears, genital organs, both male and female, and trunks of figures with the intestines showing. The more fragmentary terracottas were buried on the spot and the heap has since formed a source from which visitors to Veii have brought away small terracottas [10]. The shrine was evidently sacred to some divinity to which vows were made for health.

These two shrines, both of which are at some distance from Roman Veii, seem to have continued in use after the fall of the Etruscan city. Yet Livy's words would lead us to believe that the city's cults were in large measure brought to Rome — a thing that was certainly true of Juno Regina, the chief goddess of the city (V 22, 3):

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[9] Cf. Lanciani, *Notizie* 1889, 63-4.

[10] This is evidently the shrine referred to by Colini, p. 10.

cum iam humanae opes egestae a Veiis essent, amoliri tum deum dona ipsosque deos sed colentium magis quam rapientium modo coepere.

JUNO REGINA.

This is the prayer that Livy puts into the mouth of Camillus just before he made his final attack on Veii (V 21, 3): Te simul, Iuno Regina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat. Here as at Falerii and Lanuvium and in various other towns of central Italy Juno was a political divinity who was regarded as the presiding spirit of the state [11]. Her temple stood on the *arx* — presumably on the hill known as Piazza d'Armi southeast of the plateau that the Etruscan city covered. The tunnel through which Camillus's troops secured their entry into the city is said to have had its mouth within the temple. There is even a story — marked by Livy as doubtful (V 21) — that the soldiers interrupted a sacrifice which the Veientine king was making, for they had heard an *haruspex* declare that victory was to go to the man who completed it. After the city was in Roman hands soldiers freshly bathed and clad in white garments are said to have entered the sanctuary to take the goddess's image to Rome [12]. "Do you wish to go to Rome, Juno?" one of the soldiers asked. And the others saw the goddess nod her head; some even declared that she answered aloud. In any case the moving of the statue to Rome was accomplished with incredible ease [13].

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[11] Wissowa 187ff.; cf. Thulin s. v. Juno, Pauly-Wissowa.

[12] Livy V 22. Namque delecti ex omni exercitu iuvenes, pure lautis corporibus, candida veste quibus deportanda Romam regina Iuno adsignata erat, venerabundi templum iniere, primo religiose admoventes manus, quod id signum more Etrusco nisi certae gentis sacerdos attractare non esset solitus. Dein cum quidam seu spiritu divino tactus seu iuvenali ioco, "Visne Romam ire, Iuno?" dixisset, adnuisse ceteri deam conclamaverunt. Inde fabulae adiectum est vocem quoque dicentis velle auditam; motam certe sede sua parvi molimenti adminiculis, sequentis modo accepimus levem ac facilem tralatu fuisse, integramque in Aventinum aeternam sedem suam quo vota Romani dictatoris vocaverant perlatam, ubi templum ei postea idem qui voverat Camillus dedicavit. Practically the same story is found in Val. Max. I 8, 3; Dionysius XIII 3; Plutarch, *Camillus* 6.

[13] Although Livy uses the phrase *Etrusco more* of such hereditary priesthoods, the Hirpi Sorani form the only other certainly attested case in Etruria. The Luperci Fabiani and Quinctiales at Rome can be compared.

The goddess's image — apparently made of wood, for Dionysius calls it ξόανον — was established in a temple which Camillus built on the Aventine hill. It was dedicated in 392 B. C. *magno matronarum studio* (Livy V 23, 7 ; V 31, 3). The dedication day, known from the records of the Arvales, was the Kalends, the day regularly sacred to Juno, of September. Subsequently, for some unexplained reason it became a centre for the *graecus ritus* (Wissowa 191). The temple was among those restored by Augustus (*Mon. Anc.* IV, 6). In the Roman state cult this is the first clearly attested case of *evocatio* — the summoning to Rome of the divinity of a conquered city.

Like Apollo of Soracte this goddess was served at Veii by an hereditary priesthood, members of which alone could touch her statue (Livy V 22, 5).

APOLLO.

If, as seems likely, the terracotta group of Apollo and Herakles described above really was a votive offering in a temple precinct, it provides evidence for the cult of Apollo at Veii, as early as the beginning of the fifth century. It will be remembered that the cult of Apollo at Rome dates from the beginning of the Republic.

NEPTUNUS.

This god, whose importance in Etruscan religion is clear from the position his name has on the bronze liver of Piacenza and from Pliny's statement that the *haruspices* dedicated the gall bladder to him (*N. H.* XI 195), was perhaps worshipped at Veii for a tradition that was probably derived from that city made the god the father of Halesus, the ancestor of a certain Veientine king Morrius [14]. This king, according to Servius Danielis, instituted the Salii to do honor to his ancestor [15].

CASTOR AND POLLUX.

A *duumvir* of Veii set up a dedication to these two divinities, probably in a temple to the gods. The inscription is on a large marble base on each end of which is a cap with rays and a spear (3777) : Sacr(*um*) Castori et Pol(*luci*) Merula IIvir. It is impossible to tell whether the cult goes back to the early city. Castor and Pollux were worshipped at a number of Latin towns, notably Tusculum, Ardea, Ostia, and Rome.

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[14] Serv. Dan. on *Aen.* VIII 285, quidam etiam dicunt salios a Morrio rege Veientanorum institutos ut Halesus Neptuni filius eorum carmine laudaretur, qui eiusdem regis familiae auctor ultimus fuit.

[15] Cf. Thulin, *Die Götter des Martianus Capella* 26.

MARS.

It is again impossible to tell whether the temple of Mars the destruction of which is mentioned in an imperial inscription belonged to the Etruscan city[16].

PIETAS.

In early excavations at Veii was discovered a marble altar, now in the Lateran, that bears the inscription Pietatis sacrum (3779)[17]. The decoration of the altar consisting of four lyres connected by garlands, with the four symbols of Vulcan, the anvil, the hammer, the tongs, and the *pilleus*[18], caused Canina to recognize in it a copy of the famous Puteal Libonis or Scribonianum which stood near the Fornix Fabianus in the Roman Forum. This Puteal, erected to cover a place struck by lightning[19], is represented on late republican coins. Its decoration has never been satisfactorily explained. The emblems of Vulcan we may readily connect with that god's importance in forging thunderbolts, but the significance of the lyres is a more difficult problem. It is equally difficult to see the connection of the puteal with Bonus Eventus, who is represented on some of the coins in question, and with Pietas of the altar of Veii[20]. The Puteal Libonis probably had nothing to do with the cult of Pietas established in Rome in 181 B. C. The Veientine altar seems to date from the Augustan Age or shortly thereafter. Since the

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[16] *CIL.* 3801. Cn. Caesius Athictus adlect. inter c(entum) vir(os) statuam ex ruina templi Martis vexatam sua impensa refecit et in publicum restituit.

[17] Reproduced, *Mon. dell'Inst.* IV 36 ; Roscher, s. v. Pietas.

[18] Cf. Benndorf-Schoene, *Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranischen Museums* No. 440, pp. 307-8 ; Helbig, *Führer* 3, II, No. 1210, p. 43.

[19] Festus s. v. *Scribonianum.* p. 448 Lindsay ; see Huelsen, *Roman Forum* 2 160 ; Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom* I pt. 2, 403-4, especially note 121.

[20] Neither Babelon (*Monnaies de la République romaine* II 426-7) nor Grueber (*Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* I 419) refers to the Veientine altar which disproves some of their comments on the form of the Puteal Scribonianum.

cognomen Augusta is not given to the goddess, it is doubtful whether this altar can be associated with the cult of Pietas which Tiberius fostered as an expression of his devotion to his mother.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

A priestess of Fortuna Redux (3810) attests the existence of the worship which was established at Rome in 19 B. C. on Augustus's return from the east. The cult is fairly common in Italy and the provinces. A shrine or statue of Victoria Augusta was restored by the senate of Veii in 249 A. D.[21]. A fragmentary dedication to Claudius seems to have been set up by a *flamen* (3790). Another fragment with the words Genio Laribusque (7741) probably belongs to the worship of the emperor's genius and the Lares Augusti.

Of particular interest at Veii are the inscriptions of *Augustales* and *seviri Augustales*. From here comes one of the earliest records of *seviri Augustales*, a dedication belonging to a statue of Augustus set up *pro ludis* by six men who bear the title. In an inscription of 34 A. D. there is a reference to *seviri* and *sevirales* (3781) and in a third century document *seviri Augustales* are referred to (3808). But the most important record is a decree of the municipal senate or *centumviri* of Veii (3805), who met in 26 A. D. in the temple of Venus Genetrix at Rome and passed a decree about C. Iulius Gelos, a freedman of the divine Augustus — ut Augustalium numero habeatur aeque ac si eo honore usus sit liceatque ei omnibus spectaculis municipio nostro bisellio proprio inter Augustales considere cenisque omnibus publicis inter centumviros interesse, etc. The significant thing is that the Augustales seem here to be a body made up of members who had held an annual office indicated by the title *sevir Augustalis*. This is a situation that can be paralleled only in one other inscription — a document that seems to belong to Trebula Suffenatium (*CIL*. VI 29,681). It has been urged that these inscriptions prove that a similar relationship existed generally between *Augustales* and *seviri Augustales*, but the geographical differences in the use of the two titles make the view unlikely[22].

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[21] 3780. Dedicata III Non. Ian. Aemiliano II et Aquilino cos. P. Sergio Maximo M. Lollio Sabiniano II vir qq. cura agente Veientio Ianuario lib. ark. Victoriae August. sacrum restitutae post antiquissimam vetustatem ordo Veientium.

[22] See my discussion, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* XL (1914) 240.

SABAZIOS.

A votive hand of bronze found at Veii in 1708 is in the Museo delle Terme. It is of the familiar type and has a pine cone attached to it[23].

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

Early tradition mentions two *haruspices* at Veii — the old man whom the Roman soldiers heard foretelling the relation of the rise of the Alban lake to the fall of Veii (Livy V 15) and the similarly shadowy figure of the man who made a prophecy about the sacrifice that the king was making as the Romans captured the city (Livy V 21). The hereditary priesthood that had charge of the cult of Juno Regina has already been mentioned. A *flamen* and a priestess of Fortuna Redux have been discussed under the cult of the emperors.

TERRITORY OF VEII.

JUPPITER TONANS AND HERCULES MUSINUS.

The following inscription of 148 A. D. found on Mount Musinus six miles north of Veii is preserved by faulty manuscript tradition (3778): Iovi Tonanti et Herculi Musino M. Annius Eusch[*e*]mon reai (*sic*) ded. V Id. Oct. [*C. Be*]llic[*i*]o Torquato [*P.*] Salvio Iuliano co[*s*][24]. The cult of Juppiter Tonans, first known at Rome when a shrine was established on the Capitol in 22 B. C. to commemorate Augustus's escape from a thunderbolt, has left scant traces in the inscriptions (Wissowa 122). It is perhaps significant that one of the few dedications to the god is an inscription addressed to Juppiter Tonans Fulminans found near Anguillara about seven miles west of Mount Musinus[25].

The survival of Hercules's epithet Musinus in the modern Monte Musino is of course obvious. Schulze (196-7, 562) has associated the two names with the Etruscan names *musu* and *musnu* from Cortona and Tarquinii and with such modern names as Musignano in the territory of Volci. The name is very probably a survival of a family that settled in the region. To the cult of Hercules Musinus it is likely that the Arae Mutiae mentioned by Pliny are related (*N. H.* II 211): ad aras Mucias in Veiente et apud Tusculanum et in silva Ciminia loca sunt in quibus in terram depacta non extrahuntur. A similarly tenacious soil is found at the foot of Mount Musinus [26].

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[23] See Blinkenberg, *Arch. Studien* (1904) 78, E 22, and Paribeni's comments, quoted page 85. This hand was formerly in the Museo Kircheriano.

[24] I quote the inscription as corrected by Bormann's notes. The letters *reai* probably represent an incorrect reading.

[25] 3773. See discussion of Forum Clodi.

CERES.

A private dedication to the goddess was discovered on the estate of Cardinal Gasparri about five miles north of the Porta del Popolo [27].

JUPITER.

Here too was found a dedication to Jupiter made by a freedman of Trajan [28].

JUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS.

In the territory of Veii were also discovered the fragments of a marble *cippus* with the inscription I. O. M. (7743, cf. *Notizie* 1893, 261).

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[26] This suggestion was made by Nibby, *Analisi dei Dintorni di Roma*, I 217; cf. Nissen 361.

[27] 7740. Titinia Epiteuxis Ceraeri sanctae sacrum d. d.

[28] 7742. Iovi [*M.*] Ulpius Aug. libertus...

2. CAPENA AND ITS TERRITORY.

Capena occupied an extensive territory south of Mt. Soracte between the Via Flaminia and the Tiber [1]. In its *ager* lay the grove of Feronia, the scene of a great festival that dated from prehistoric times. Inscriptions and archaeological fragments have been found at numerous points in the *ager*, most abundantly on the hill of Civitucola near Leprignano, and at Sant'Oreste and Nazzano, in smaller quantities at Riano, Fiano, Civitella, Morlupo, Ponzano, and Turrita. The city proper is now generally agreed to have been on the hill of Civitucola [2] where inscriptions referring to the municipality of Capena and the remains of an extensive necropolis make the identification fairly certain. A *vicus* belonging to the municipality seems to have existed at Sant'Oreste on the ridge south of Soracte where two inscriptions of the community of Capena and a record of the city's tribe, the *Stellatina*, have been found.

There is no evidence that the region was inhabited until well after the beginning of the Iron Age. Characteristically Villanova material is lacking and the earliest *tombe a fossa* cannot be dated before the eighth century. [3] In the historical tradition Capena is first known through Cato who calls the city a colony of Veii (Cato ap. Serv. on

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[1] On the region in general see Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana* III 278-375.

[2] The identification was suggested by Galletti, *Capena, Municipio dei Romani* (Rome, 1756). It has been seriously questioned only by De Rossi (*Ann. dell'Inst.* 1883, 253-284), who placed Lucus Feroniae on the hill of Civitucola and Capena at Sant'Oreste.

[3] The most important discoveries from Capena can be seen in Room XVII of the Villa Giulia Museum (Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia* 321-355) and in the Museo Kircheriano.

Aen. VII 697). It is in connection with Rome's long siege of that city that Capena, which is not mentioned in Diodorus's brief annals, is first referred to by Livy (V 8-24). The city was then acting with Falerii in an effort to persuade the other Etruscan cities to unite in making war on Rome. At that time, early in the fifth century, when her representatives were meeting with the other Etruscans at the shrine of Voltumna, Capena was evidently a member of the Etruscan league. The most convincing explanation of the city's name, whose puzzling correspondence with the name of a gate on the opposite side of Rome has often been noted, is that which associates it with the Etruscan *gens* Capna[4]. Yet there are reasons for believing that in spite of political affinity the Etruscan overlords here were less numerous than in neighboring Falerii. In both places an Italic dialect closely allied to Latin persisted through the period of Etruscan domination. But the inscriptions of Capena show fewer Etruscan names and forms and more affinity with the Latin than do the Faliscan[5]. This fact would be less significant in view of the small number of inscriptions of Capena in existence, if it were not for the marked lack of characteristically Etruscan importations in the necropolis of Capena, where extensive excavations have been made. As in the cemeteries of Latium and Rome there is a striking absence of Attic Black and Red figured ware. The discoveries moreover include numerous objects, particularly in bronze, which show a closer resemblance to Picene, Umbrian, and Latin remains than to Etruscan[6].

Tradition has it that the year following the fall of Veii Capena too was forced to yield after the Roman military tribunes had completely despoiled her territory (Livy V 24). It has generally been assumed that Capena was then incorporated in the Roman state and assigned to the newly created tribe, the *Stellatina*, which Festus (p. 464 L) says was named for a *campus Stellatinus* of the district. But the title which the Capenates proudly claimed in later years, *municipium Capenatium foederatorum*, would seem to suggest that the Capenates were temporarily at least allies of Rome becoming incorporated very soon in the Roman state, perhaps as one of the earliest *municipia.* Unlike the more powerful Falerii Capena seems never to have been troublesome. In the later annals of the Republic she is mentioned only very rarely, and always in connection with the shrine of Feronia in her *ager*. Even in imperial times the city maintained her characteristic chief magistracy, elsewhere unparalleled, with a single praetor as the head of the community. It is worth noting that, although praetors are the regular supreme magistrates of early Latium, in the single officer at the head of Capena there is perhaps a survival of Etruscan city government [7].

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[4] Schulze, 567 ff. Cf. Herbig, *CIE.* II p. 3.

[5] Cf. the analysis by Herbig, *CIE.* 8449-8547.

[6] Cf. Paribeni, *Mon. Ant.* XVI (1906) 489-490.

By far the most important cult of Capena was that of Feronia; but, since the grove of Feronia became the site of a Roman colony under Augustus, it will be considered as an independent community.

No certainly identified remains of temples or other religious monuments have been found at Capena, though supposed fragments of a temple came to light in 1895 at the time of the natural disturbance which caused the formation of a small lake in the region [8].

Ceres.

The only cult that is surely attested on the site of the ancient city is that of Ceres. A marble *cippus*, apparently the base of a statue, records the honor bestowed by the municipal senate on a priestess of the goddess (3933): Flaviae Ammiae sacerdoti Cereris ob honorem caerimoniorum honestissime praebitorum decreto ordinis. Although it cannot be determined with certainty just what ceremonies in the complicated *graecus ritus* of Ceres the priestess performed, it is very probable that Flavia Ammia and the other public priestesses of Ceres who are recorded in municipalities of the Roman world were in charge of the *sacrum anniversarium Cereris*, a secret ceremony of chthonic character, which was presided over at Rome by women of Greek birth who had been given Roman citizenship [9]. These Mysteries, the only ones into which Cicero's sacred laws allowed women to be initiated, seem to have been held on August 10th (*CIL.* I 1^2, p. 324).

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[7] On Etruscan magistrates see Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, 66ff. The peculiar case of Capena is however not mentioned.

[8] Paribeni, *l. c.* 277 n. 1.

[9] See Wissowa, 300-301; s. v. Ceres, Pauly-Wissowa. Cf. *CIL.* VI 32443; Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 55.

FASTI LUDORUM.

Significant among the inscriptions found on the hill of Civitucola is a group of fragments which from the repetition of the words *ludos deder(unt)* or *fecer(unt)*, in one case *ludos et iuv(enalia dederunt)* and from the frequent occurrence of dates may be recognized as *fasti ludorum.*[10] The years quoted by consular date are 112, 133, 135 and 182 A. D.[11], and the specific dates mentioned are the 21st, 24th, 25th and 26th of July[12]. Except for De Rossi's untenable suggestion that these *fasti* record games in honor of Feronia whose sanctuary he would place on the hill of Civitucola[13], no attempt has been made to determine what games are referred to. An examination of the Roman calendar shows that the official games scheduled on the days of the celebration in Capena were the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* which, according to several Augustan calendars, lasted from the twentieth to the thirtieth of July. A consideration of the character of these games will aid in determining whether it is likely that they would have been celebrated at Capena. They were instituted by Julius Caesar at the time of the dedication of the temple of Venus Genetrix on September 26, 46 B. C.[14], but were celebrated thereafter at the end of July, a time that after Caesar's reform of the calendar corresponded roughly to the date of the first celebration in September[15]. Their continuance was entrusted to a *collegium* which however seems to have neglected its duties[16]. The games were accordingly celebrated at private expense by Octavian in 44 B. C. in the character of funeral games in honor of Caesar[17]. In 34 B. C. they were conducted by the consuls (Dio XLIX 42). The only subsequent performance of which we have a definite record, that in 15 A. D., was under the direction of the praetors[18] to whom Augustus after 22 B. C. gave the charge of all regular games[19]. The assured position of this festival in the Roman sacred year is proved by the fact that its celebration was in the hands of the praetors and not of the consuls to whom remained the direction of extraordinary festivals and of certain games instituted later[20]. Under these conditions their celebration in a Roman municipality would have been natural. The absence of the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris* from the fourth century *fasti* shows that they were no longer celebrated in that period. In municipalities the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris Augusti* of Iguvium (*CIL.* XI 5820), and the *ludi Victoriae* of Spoletium (*CIL* XI 4814) must be closely modelled on these games[21]. The *ludi Veneri in circo aut in foro*, for which the aediles of the Colonia Genetiva Iulia were instructed to set aside one day[22], represented the same celebration in honor of Venus Genetrix and the victory of her descendants, though the festival that Caesar designed for this colony whose tutelary divinity was Venus Genetrix[23] was shorter in duration than the celebration in Augustan calendars. With these games too is, I think, to be associated a record of a *curator lusus iuvenum* (*Victoriae*) *et F*(*elicitatis*) *C*[*aesaris*] from the Umbrian town Ameria [24]. The cult of Victoria et Felicitas Caesaris, which was important at Ameria but is unknown elsewhere, must have been closely related to Venus Genetrix, the ancestral divinity of the Julian line, to whom Caesar dedicated the temple which was the consummation of a vow he had made to Venus Victrix [25]. She must also have been associated with Victory's inevitable attendant Felicitas [26] who was worshipped with Venus Victrix in the sanctuary above Pompey's theatre [27] and was identical with Sulla's patron goddess Venus Felix, the divinity honored in the original *ludi Victoriae* which Sulla instituted to commemorate his victory at the Colline Gate [28]. The cult of Victoria et Felicitas Caesaris at Ameria must then have been, if not absolutely identical, at least closely related to the worship of Venus Genetrix, and the games referred to in the expression *lusus iuvenum Victoriae et Felicitatis Caesaris* were probably a form of the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, though there is of course the possibility that they may have been simply an independent athletic festival of the *iuvenes*.

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[10] 3896-3909 which include all the material of interest are surely from the hill of Civitucola. 3910-3913, fragments of similar pieces of marble in which nothing of interest can be made out, were found at Nazzano. The exact provenience in the region of the hopelessly fragmentary inscriptions also of similar marble, 3914-3921, is not known.

[11] 3896, 3898, 3899, 3901.

[12] Bormann's restorations seem fairly certain. 3901, [XIIII, XIII,] XII Kal. 3906, V]IIII, VIII, VII, K[*al.* The only one about which there might be any doubt, the application of the word *Aug.* to the month of August in 3898, is made fairly sure by the presence of a consular date just above the word *Aug.* which comes in the place where the month would naturally be found.

[13] De Rossi, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1883, 253-284.

[14] In addition to the official name *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* attested as the original name of the celebration by Cicero's contemporary reference, *ad Fam.* XI, 28, 6, the games are referred to by Pliny (*N. H.* II 93) and Seneca (*Nat. quaest.* VII 17, 2) as *ludi Veneris Genetricis.* Cf. also Dio XLIII 22; XLV 6.

[15] Mommsen, *CIL.* I 1^2, p. 322. The *fasti* show that the last four days of the festival consisted of circus games.

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[16] Obsequens 68; Cassius Dio XLV, 6.

[17] References to this celebration are frequent in ancient writers because of the appearance of the comet during the games. See the collection of passages in Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* I 2, 24. Cicero's friend Matius was one of the *procuratores* on this occasion (*ad Fam.* XI 28, 6).

[18] Cf. an inscription in the museum of the American Academy in Rome, published by Van Buren, *Am. Jour. Arch.* 1907, 179-181 (Dessau, 9349).

[19] Cassius Dio LIV 2. Cf. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II 1, 237.

[20] Mommsen, *op. cit.* 136-137. The fact that these had become regular games perhaps explains why they are not mentioned in the *Feriale Cumanum* (*CIL.* X 3682), a list of festivals to be celebrated in honor of the imperial house.

[21] Cf. also the inscription of Ancona, *CIL.* IX 5904, where Mommsen's restoration is however very doubtful, [*sacerdoti Au*]*g Victoriae Caesaris.*

[22] Cf. *Lex coloniae Genetivae*, *CIL.* II 5439, chapter 71.

[23] Cf. Hirschfeld quoted by Hübner *CIL.* II Supp. p. 851. Note that the colony made provision for games in her honor just as it did for Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, the regular guardians of Roman colonies.

The connection of the *iuvenes* with these games at Ameria is paralleled at Capena where the words *ludos et iu*[*venalia dederunt*] occur in one of the fragmentary inscriptions. The municipal colleges of *iuvenes* which spread throughout Italy and the western Roman Empire were particularly strong in Latium, Etruria, and Umbria. The members of the colleges seem to have been youths of high position in the municipalities who gathered together to engage in athletic and equestrian exercises and contests such as were instituted by Augustus for the high born youths of Rome. Rostowzew has shown that during the Empire *iuventus* is a technical term used to designate the boys of equestrian and senatorial rank who, having taken the *toga virilis*, were being trained in athletic exercises preparatory to the military service that Augustus deemed necessary for all [29]. These boys, usually between fifteen and seventeen years old, were prominent in religious processions and celebrations at Rome. Their contests, known as *ludi sevirales*, the counterpart of the *lusus Troiae*, the exercises of younger boys, familiar from the fifth Aeneid, were held not on fixed occasions but at irregular intervals in connection with public games [30]. Although the development of these celebrations was due to Augustus, athletic and equestrian contests of high born boys had been instituted by Caesar and significantly enough in connection with the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* [31]. At the celebration of this same festival in 34 B. C. Octavian honored the knights by appointing boys of equestrian rank prefects of the city for the period of the games (Dio XLIX 42). Although it is unknown whether this innovation continued, in any case it seems likely that the *iuvenes* had a prominent part in the games. Similarly they were very active in the celebration of the games at the temple of Mars Ultor [32]. The municipal *iuvenes* also were probably instituted or revived by Augustus and in their organization and their relation to the imperial house were closely modelled on the *iuvenes* of Rome. Like the *Augustales* with whom they had many points in common they were often closely associated with the municipal *sacra*. Their games, the *iuvenalia*, were doubtless celebrated, like the *ludi sevirales* and the *lusus Troiae* of Rome, in connection with other festivals. Thus the *iuvenalia* at Capena and probably at Ameria seem sometimes to have been held on the occasion of the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, a festival with which, as we have seen, aristocratic youths were closely associated in Rome.

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[24] *CIL.* XI 4395. Dessau's restoration, *Inscr. sel.* 6631, Caesar(is) (cf. *CIL.* XI 4371) according to which the Victoria et Felicitas of the first Caesar are probably meant is more likely than Bormann's Caesar(um). By analogy with the expressions *Concordia Augustorum*, *Victoria Augustorum*, one would expect Augustorum rather than Caesarum if the reference were to the imperial house.

[25] Appian *B. C.* II 68 f.; cf. Wissowa, 292. The name of the games, *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, shows the identification of Venus Victrix or her equivalent Victoria with Venus Genetrix.

[26] On the identity of the two see Wissowa, *l. c.*

[27] Cf. *Fasti Amit.* for Aug. 12 and Oct. 9; see Wissowa, 266.

[28] These were later called the *ludi Victoriae Sullanae* to distinguish them from the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris*. Cf. Mommsen, *CIL.* I 1^2, p. 333. Their connection with Venus Felix is suggested by the fact that Sulla assumed the title Felix after the victory that they celebrated, and is further supported by the words of Velleius Paterculus (II 27) in describing the institution of the games: Felicitatem diei quo Samnitium Telesinique pulsus est exercitus Sulla perpetua ludorum circensium honoravit memoria qui sub eius nomine [Sullanae] Victoriae celebrantur.

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[29] Rostowzew, *Römische Bleitesserae, Klio, Beiheft*, III 1905. See his admirable discussion of *iuvenes* in Rome and the municipalities, 59-93.

[30] On these games see bibliography cited by Rostowzew, *op. cit.* 65.

[31] See Dio XLIII 22 who says that Caesar revived the *ludi Troiae* on this occasion. Cf. also Suet. *Iul.* 39.

[32] Cf. Dio LV 10; see *Tr. Am. Phil. Assoc.* LI 1920, 116-133.

The attribution of the *fasti ludorum* of Capena to the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* is supported by their correspondence in date with the festival held at Rome, which, since Augustus had given it a regular place in the calendar, may well have been celebrated also in a municipality. The identification of the two festivals receives further support from the association of the games at Capena with the *iuvenes* who were prominent in the same *ludi* at Rome and were connected with what was apparently the same celebration at Ameria. The *fasti* of Capena seem to afford evidence that the *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* did not die out as has been thought (Wissowa 293), at the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, but continued to be celebrated throughout the second century. Their absence from fourth century *Fasti* shows that they were no longer celebrated at that period.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

In addition to the *invenes* whose existence at Capena is attested by the *fasti ludorum* the college of the Augustales is mentioned in an inscription of 162 as uniting with the *ordo* (or *decuriones*) and the *vicani* in collecting a sum of money to erect a statue to Lucius Pacatius Tyrannus (3936). The only individual who may belong to this body is a *sevir municipio Capenati* who seems to have been a freedman (3935).

LUCUS FERONIAE.

Elsewhere I have discussed in detail the reasons for placing Lucus Feroniae at the church of S. Antimo near Nazzano [33] on the Tiber as suggested by Lanciani [34] rather that at Rignano on the Flaminian Way, a site favored by Nissen and Solari [35]. The only inscription that definitely mentions the colony of Lucus Feroniae is preserved in an eleventh century manuscript of the neighboring Sabine monastery of Farfa [36]. During the eleventh century Farfa had considerable holdings along the right bank of the Tiber and particularly at Nazzano; its possessions did not however extend as far as the Via Flaminia[37]. It is therefore much more probable that the inscription came from Nazzano where the monastery had property than from Rignano where it had no holdings. Strabo's description (V 2, 9) of Lucus Feroniae as ὑπὸ τῷ Σωράκτῳ ὄρει suits both sites, and even if Silius's reference to the brook Capenas fits Rignano better[38], one would hesitate to make too strict a topographical application of the poet's rather general description. The site of S. Antimo with its commanding view over Sabine territory is a much more natural location for a shrine that was originally a place of worship for Latins and Sabines such as we know the grove of Feronia to have been. Certainly it was an easier site than Rignano to reach from Eretum, where, according to Caelius, Hannibal turned off the Via Salaria to visit the grove (Livy XXVI 11). The tombs excavated near Nazzano are closely analogous to those of Civitucola, the site of Capena, while the tombs of Rignano are more closely related to the necropolis of Falerii. Finally an inscription found on the site of S. Antimo provides evidence, not paralleled at Rignano, for a community with independent municipal organization (3871) and, except for Capena itself, Lucus Feroniae is the only such community known in the district. The identification may then be considered practically certain, and we can proceed to a consideration of the religious history of the site for which the testimony is fairly abundant.

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[33] *The Site of Lucus Feroniae, Journal of Roman Studies* X (1920) 29-36.

[34] Lanciani, *Bull. dell'Inst.* 1870, 26-32.

[35] Nissen 369 f.; Solari, *Topografia storica dell'Etruria* I, 133f.

[36] 3938, M. Silio Epaphrodito patrono sevirum Aug. magistro iuvenum iterum iuvenes Lucoferonenses patrono ob merita quod amphithe[*a*]tru[m] col. Iul. Felici Luco Fer. s. p. f. dedicavitque, l. d. d. d. h. c. i. r.

Lucus Feroniae lay in the *ager* of Capena and apparently had no independent municipal government until the time of Augustus. Cicero refers on several occasions to the territory of Capena as containing land available for distribution and Caesar had a survey made with the idea, it would seem, of settling veterans in the district[39]. But it was Augustus, not Caesar, who established the colony at Lucus Feroniae, a fact that is proved by the mention of

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[37] See indices to Giorgi and Balzani's *Regesto di Farfa* I-V, Rome, 1879-1914; Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana* III *passim*.

[38] Silius XIII 83-85:

itur in agros
Dives ubi ante omnes colitur Feronia luco
Et sacer umectat fluvialia rura Capenas.

[39] Cicero, *ad fam.* IX 17, 2, in 46 B. C. Veientem quidem agrum et Capenatem metiuntur.

Lucus Feroniae as a colony in Pliny's list of Augustan communities (*N. H.* III 51). The full name of the colony given in the inscription found in the manuscript of Farfa was Colonia Iulia Felix Lucoferonensis. A veteran of the third century and a member of the fire corps of Ostia both record Lucus Feroniae as their native city [40].

The remains of the round temple discovered in 1868 close to the church of S. Antimo have already been mentioned. No archaeologists were present at the excavation and nothing is known about the discovery except the unsatisfactory report which Lanciani was able to secure second hand. The temple seems to have been about 20 meters in diameter. It had apparently been drawn on for the construction of the church of S. Antimo, some of whose ancient columns including four of grey granite, one of red granite, and one of Carrara marble, all with Ionic capitals, probably came fron this same temple [41]. It is of course possible that this is the temple of Feronia, a later structure that took the place of the shrine that Hannibal sacked. But from the fact that inscriptions referring to the cult of Bona Dea are preserved in the church of S. Antimo which was constructed with architectural remains of the temple it is also possible that the temple was sacred to Bona Dea [42].

FERONIA.

The shrine of Feronia to which Cato's *lucus Capenatis* (frag. 30 Peter^2 p. 48) and Vergil's *lucosque Capenos* (*Aen.* VII 697) refer, is first mentioned definitely in a tradition preserved by Livy and Dionysius according to which Roman and Sabine merchants quarreled at a fair held at the goddess's sanctuary and thus provided Tullus Hostilius with a pretext for declaring war against his neighbors, the Sabines [43]. Although there is no definite statement as to the location of this shrine, it is natural to assume from the context of the two passages that it lay in Sabine rather than in Latin country. The scene of the fair has accordingly been localized by various students of Roman religion at Trebula Mutuesca on the Via Salaria where there is inscriptional evidence for an important republican cult of Feronia [44]. But the complete lack of literary evidence for this shrine, which stands in contrast to the numerous references to the grove of Feronia in the territory of Capena, has caused students of epigraphy and topography to assign this early festival to Lucus Feroniae near Soracte where Strabo (V 2, 9) records the existence of a gathering in honor of Feronia in his day and where Livy (XXVI 11, 8) says that the neighboring peoples offered the first fruits of the season to the goddess. It may be noted that Livy and Dionysius do not definitely say that the shrine where Romans and Sabines quarreled was in Sabine territory ; their words would fit equally well a site like Nazzano on the Tiber which was nearer to Sabine than to Latin territory. The Tiber is navigable at the point and there must have been ferries. Moreover one would hesitate to be definite about the boundaries between various peoples in the regal period. There is little doubt that the shrine near Capena was the scene of the great fair, which, according to Dionysius's rather fanciful account, was frequented by farmers, merchants, and craftsmen and was the most brilliant gathering of its kind in Italy.

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[40] *CIL.* VI 2584; *Notizie* 1911, p. 450, dated 168 A. D.

[41] Lanciani *Bull. dell'Inst.* 1870, 26-32. Cf. p. 31. "Il tempio era circolare, e per quanto ho potuto dedurre dalla freccia di un avanzo del fregio, il suo diametro non oltrepassava 20 m. Oltre questo avanzo ornato di gentili fogliami, ed abbandonato sull'area dello scavo, rimane anche uno stupendo frammento della candeliera che formava stipite alla porta e che ora serve di gradino all'ambone della vicina basilica, come pure alcuni pezzi dei scalini del tempio la cui alzata misura 0,18. La basilica istessa è poi ornata di sei colonne tratte evidentemente da più antico edifizio, delle quali quattro di granito bigio, una di granito orientale, una di marmo lunense; i lor capitelli, di buono stile, non ottimo, sono d'ordine ionico." Cf. also Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana* III, 328 who says that four other ancient columns are walled up in the modern pilasters. De Rossi, *Bulletino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1883, 125 (and n. 2) notes that Galletti's drawings of the ancient marbles and inscriptions of S. Antimo are to be found in codex Vat. 7929 p. II, 241-252. The publication of them which De Rossi expected to make never appeared.

[42] On this temple see also Altmann, *Italische Rundbauten* (1906) 43. Neither Feronia nor Bona Dea is known to have had round temples elsewhere.

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[43] Livy I 30. Tullus ad Feroniae fanum mercatu frequenti negotiatores Romanos comprehensos querebatur ; Sabini suos prius in lucum confugisse ac Romae retentos. Dionys III, 32. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον ἕτερος ἀνέστη Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ τοῦ Σαβίνων ἔθνους, ἀρχὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόφασις ἐγένετο τοιάδε· ἱερόν ἐστι κοινῇ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ Σαβίνων τε καὶ Λατίνων ἅγιον ἐν τοῖς πάνυ θεᾶς Φερωνείας ὀνομαζομένης, ἥν οἱ μεταφράζοντες εἰς τήν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν οἱ μὲν Ἀνθοφόρον, οἱ δὲ Φιλοστέφανον, οἱ δὲ Φερσεφόνην καλοῦσιν. εἰς δὴ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦτο συνῄεσαν ἐκ τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων κατὰ τὰς ἀποδεδειγμένας ἑορτὰς πολλοὶ μὲν εὐχὰς ἀποδιδόντες καὶ θυσίας τῇ θεῷ, πολλοὶ δὲ χρηματιούμενοι διὰ τὴν πανήγυριν ἔμποροί τε καὶ χειροτέχναι καὶ νεωργοί, ἀγοραί τε αὐτόθι λαμπρόταται τῶν ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ τόποις τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀγομένων ἐγίνοντο.

[44] This identification was suggested first by Fabretti, *Inscr. Ant.* (Rome, 1699) 452-3. It has been accepted by Preller-Jordan. *Röm. Mythol.* I 427 ; Steuding s. v. Feronia, Roscher ; J. A. Hild s. v. in Daremberg and Saglio ; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals* 253. Wissowa however (285-7 and s. v. Feronia, Pauly-Wissowa) associates the passage with the shrine near Capena.

In this grove, where the original worship of the goddess had perhaps been carried on in the open, there existed in 211 B. C. a temple the great riches of which Livy describes (XXVI 11): templum ea tempestate inclutum divitiis; Capenates aliique qui accolae eius erant primitias frugum eo donaque alia pro copia portantes multo auro argentoque id exornatum habebant. The temple, Livy says, was plundered by Hannibal of all its gold and silver; in its place his soldiers in fear of retribution left behind great heaps of *aes rude* to pacify the goddess[45]. Twice *prodigia* are recorded by Livy from the grove, the first time in 210 not long after Hannibal's sack of the shrine when four statues were said to have sweat blood (Livy XXVII 4, 14), and the second in 196 when the temple of Feronia was struck by lightning (Livy XXXIII 26, 8). The only later reference to the shrine in literature is made by Strabo V 2, 9. ὑπὸ δὲ τῷ Σωράκτῳ ὄρει Φερωνία πόλις ἐστίν, ὁμώνυμος ἐπιχωρίᾳ τινὶ δαίμονι τιμωμένῃ σφόδρα ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων ἧς τέμενός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ θαυμαστὴν ἱεροποιίαν ἔχον· γυμνοῖς γὰρ ποσὶ διεξίασιν ἀνθρακιὰν καὶ σποδιὰν μεγάλην οἱ κατεχόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς δαίμονος ταύτης ἀπαθεῖς, καὶ συνέρχεται πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἅμα τῆς τε πανηγύρεως χάριν, ἣ συντελεῖται κατ᾽ ἔτος, καὶ τῆς λεχθείσης θέας. There is a confusion here in Strabo's mind between the worship of Feronia and the neighboring cult of Apollo Soranus on Soracte where devotees of the god sprang bare foot over hot coals. It is possible that Strabo associated reports that he had heard at Rome about this strange ceremony with the account he found in his sources of the fair at Feronia's shrine. The evidence does not however justify the assumption which has often been made that there was a relation between the two cults[46].

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[45] Livy l. c.; cf. the account taken from Livy in Silius Italicus, *Punica* XIII 83ff.

[46] Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*³ XI 14; Steuding s. v. Feronia, Roscher; Vaglieri s. v. Ruggiero; Deecke, *Die Falisker* 97ff.; Mannhardt, *Antike Wald und Feldkulte* II 327ff.

Two possible dedications to the goddess may come from the region. One of them, found in the ruins of the church of S. Lorenzo at Ponzano, is said to read Feroniae Macedo [47]. Another inscription now at Nepet records the erection of five altars to the goddess by a slave of Claudius (3199) [48]. The inscription is said by Fulvio Orsini to have been found *sub Soracte monte non multis abhinc annis,* but the absence of any such statement about it in the slightly earlier collections of Accursius and Smetius suggests the possibility that Orsini's knowledge of the site of Lucus Feroniae may have influenced him with regard to the origin of the inscription. The survival of the name of the shrine in the colony of Augustus is the only other indication of the cult.

The sacrifice of the first fruits of the season to Feronia reported by Livy strengthens the natural probability that we are dealing here with a nature goddess; but for further knowledge of the character of her worship we shall have to turn to the evidence for the cult of Feronia elsewhere. In central Italy where her worship was fairly widespread [49] her cult is attested at Trebula Mutuesca (IX 4873-5) and Amiternum (IX 4180, 4321) in the Sabine country, at Aveia (IX 3602) among the Vestini, at Pisaurum (XI 6299) and Tuficum (XI 5685) in Umbria, at Septempeda in Picenum (IX 5711, 5712) and at Terracina among the Volscians [50]. In the north she had an important cult at Aquileia in Venetia (*CIL.* V 776, 8218, 8307, 8308) with which are probably to be associated isolated examples of her worship in Histria [51] and Noricum [52], the latter of which is the only record of her cult outside of Italy that has so far come to light. Early inscriptions from Amiternum, Trebula Mutuesca, and Pisaurum [53] and literary evidence for an early cult at Terracina show that the shrine near Soracte was by no means the only important cult centre of the goddess in republican times. At all these places except perhaps Trebula Mutuesca the goddess's shrine lay outside the city limits, apparently in a sacred grove [54]. At Terracina, where more is known about the nature of the cult, there was also a sacred spring, which may be brought into relation with the fact that at Aquileia the men employed in the city water works regarded Feronia as their patron divinity [55]. Her shrine at Terracina was especially honored by freedmen who were wont to receive there the *pilleus*, the symbol of freedom [56]. A seat in her temple there bore the inscription " bene meriti servi sedeant, surgant liberi." This phase of the goddess was also important in her cult at Rome where the earliest evidence for Feronia is Livy's record (XXII 1, 18) that the freedwomen by order of the Sibylline books collected a sum of money in 217 to make a gift to Feronia. She had a shrine in the Campus Martius [57] with which was apparently associated a sacred grove (Dessau 9051). Her festival is listed for November 13 in the calendar of the Arval Brethren. The fact that the only dedication to her so far found at Rome was set up by an *ancilla* [58] is perhaps further evidence of her relation to slaves and freedwomen. It was this feature of her worship which led to Varro's explanation of the origin of her name (Serv. Dan. *Aen*. VIII 564), Varro libertatem deam dicit Feroniam quasi Fidoniam. There is no evidence elsewhere for the special connection of the cult with freedmen and slaves. But in the absence of more conclusive evidence that she was universally regarded as a goddess of freedom, Feronia's cult at Rome is, it would seem, to be associated in its immediate origin rather with the shrine at Terracina than, as has usually been thought, with the grove near Capena [59]. The latter shrine, however, which tradition seems to mark out as the most ancient cult of the goddess in Italy, may well have been the centre from which Feronia's worship originally spread. The dissemination of the cult may then be explained by the great fair held in early times at the shrine. It has already been noted that the necropolis of Civitucola and the less explored tombs of Nazzano have supplied numerous objects that are closely analogous to discoveries in Latium, Picenum, and Umbria, sections of Italy in which significantly enough Feronia's worship is attested. The Tiber valley was probably the great artery of communication for the shrine. An investigation of the site of S. Antimo might throw light not only on the origin of the cult but on the general subject of prehistoric commerce in Italy from Picenum to the Volscian country.

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[47] 7761. Bormann comments: Quid subsit nescimus. First published by Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana* III 334.

[48] See Bormann's report of the *testimonia* of the inscription 3199. Tomassetti, *op. cit.* III 343, restores the inscription from Rignano 3980, M. Iunio. . . Maximo c. . . . [*F*]eronia[*e*.

[49] There is no evidence for the templum Feroniae at Eretum, cited by Deecke, *Die Falisker*, 100. The evidence for the Fanum Feroniae between Luna and Pisae rests only on the spurious *Edictum Desiderii*, *Monum. Germ. Leges* IV. 206. See Wissowa s. v. Feroniae Fanum, Pauly — Wissowa.

[50] Dion. Hal. II 49, who says the shrine was founded by Spartans; Verg. *Aen.* VII 800 and Servius's comments on the passage; Serv. *Aen.* VIII, 564; Hor. *Sat.* 1, 5, 24, and the scholiasts on the passage; Pliny *N. H.* II, 146.

[51] *CIL.* V, 412 from Montona, a dedication to Iuno Feronia.

[52] *CIL.* III suppl. 13519.

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[53] Especially interesting is the famous inscription from Pisaurum *CIL*. XI 6299. It is one of fourteen dedications inscribed on stones in the form of a truncated cone, and addressed to different divinities.

[54] This was also the case for the shrine near Aveia in the Vestini for which the testimony belongs to the second half of the first century after Christ.

[55] For their title Feronienses aquatores see *CIL*. V 8307, 8308.

[56] Serv. *Aen*. VIII 564. Cf. Buecheler, *Rh. Mus.* XLI (1886) 1 ff.

[57] Cf. the calendar of the Arval Brethren for Nov. 13. Feroniae in [*ca*]mp(*o*). Mommsen, *CIL*. I 1^2 p. 335.

[58] *CIL*. VI, 147. Dedications to gods set up by freedmen and slaves are so common that this inscription would not be significant except in connection with other evidence for Feronia's relation to the slave class. The inscription recorded from Nepet was set up by a freedman.

The fundamentally Italic character that Capena retained in spite of Etruscan domination and the evidence for Feronia's worship in Italic and non-Etruscan sites militate against the theory of Schulze [60] who calls Feronia an Etruscan goddess and attributes the spread of her worship to the Etruscans. There is more support for the ancient belief that she was Sabine which is definitely stated by Varro (*L. L.* V 74) and is evidently the explanation of the representation of Feronia's head on coins of P. Petronius Turpilianus whose family claimed Sabine ancestry [61]. The shrine of Feronia near Terracina is definitely associated with the Sabines by Dionysius (II 49). He relates a story that the Sabines were descendants of Lacedaemonians who founded this shrine on the spot where they landed in Italy. Whether or not there was Sabine infiltration in Capena's territory, Feronia's shrine lay close to Sabine territory and was a gathering place associated in tradition not with Etruscans but with Sabines and Latins[62]. The *delubrum Feroniae* near Amiternum and the important shrine at Trebula Mutuesca attest the worship of Feronia in the Sabine country at an early period, and a later inscription from Amiternum together with a dedication found near by in the territory of the Vestini shows the persistence of the cult. If, as seems likely, Schulze is right in his contention that Feronia was originally the goddess of the Feronian *gens*, then there is further evidence for associating her worship with central Italy and the Sabine country. The *nomen* Feronius occurs on two inscriptions from Sabinum[63], one from the Vestini[64], five from Picenum[65], two from Aquileia (*CIL.* V 807, 760), one from Rome (VI 17,891), and on a brick stamp from Naples (X 8059, 301). The fact that it does not occur either in Etruria or in greater Latium[66] perhaps affords additional support for the belief that the cult at Terracina was an offshoot of the worship of the goddess in Sabine territory.

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[59] Cf. Wissowa 285 ; s. v. Feronia, Pauly-Wissowa.

[60] Schulze 165, whose view is tentatively accepted by Wissowa.

[61] See Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* II 61.

At the beginning of the Empire the worship of the goddess at Lucus Feroniae had probably declined greatly and the fair at her shrine may even have disappeared entirely, for both Dionysius in his account of the celebration in early times, and Livy in his description of the temple in the time of Hannibal seem to be speaking of glories that were past. Indeed it is possible that the choice of Lucus Feroniae as site and name for the colony is another example of Augustus's effort to restore interest in a national cult which had fallen into neglect.

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[62] See Schulze's interesting suggestions (165) as to a possible connection in origin between Feronia and the Erylus of Praeneste whom Vergil calls Feronia's son (*Aen.* VIII 560-565). Although the Etruscan origin of the goddess is unlikely, it must be noted that the hypothetical Etruscan name form *fere* which Schulze posited has been found in a recent inscription from the *ager Faliscus* (*CIE*. 8399) But the Etruscan form may well have been derived from the Italic. The origin of the name Feronia remains an unsolved puzzle, complicated by the fact that the quantity of the first syllable is long in Vergil and Horace and short in the Greek transliteration Φερωνία. Various suggestions have been made as to a possible connection with the city Φηρωνία in Sardinia. Cf. Pais, *Atti della reale Accademia dei Lincei, Ser. 3, Cl. di sc. mor. stor. filol.* VII (1880-1881) 314.

[63] *CIL.* IX 4571, Nursia; 4230, Amiternum.

[64] *CIL.* IX 3405, *Capestrano.*

[65] *CIL.* IX 5858, Auximum; 5735, *S. Vittore*; 5141, Castrum Novum; 5071, 5104, Interamnia.

[66] Cf. however the name Ferronia *CIL.* X 5477 which occurs at Aquinum. On Feronia see also Cohen *Méd. Imp.* I p. 132.

DIANA AUGUSTA.

A single dedication found at Nazzano is addressed to Diana Augusta[67].

BONA DEA.

The cult of Bona Dea is attested at Nazzano by an inscription which records the dedication of a silver mirror to the goddess by two women who style themselves *magis(trae) Bonae* [*Deae*], the usual name for priestesses of the goddess[68]. To the same goddess are probably to be assigned five fragmentary inscriptions all of which seem once to have been in the church of S. Antimo[69]. One of them consists simply of the word Bona which in connection with the occurrence of *magistra* in another is probably to be interpreted as a reference to Bona Dea. In four of the inscriptions is found a proper name Seperna, Sepernati (from a probable nominative Sepernas) which may be a local epithet of Bona Dea, a goddess who very readily absorbed other titles[70]. But the meaning of the epithet which does not occur elsewhere remains a mystery[71]. There is little support for the view of De Rossi who believed that civitas Sepernatium was the name of the settlement at S. Antimo. Aside from the unlikelihood that the name of a site of such importance should have left no other record, there are, as we have seen, strong reasons for placing Lucus Feroniae at S. Antimo.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

The body of *Seviri Augustales* attested for Lucus Feroniae in 3938 is doubtless identical with the *seviri* mentioned in connection with the *decuriones* in the inscription 3871 found at Nazzano, which belongs to 199 A. D.

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[67] 3859. Dianae Augustae sacrum A. Servilius Clarus.

[68] 3866 . . .lia Proc[*ula*] . . . Annia Veneri[*a*] . . . magis(*trae*) Bonae [*deae* . . . specul(um) arg(enteum)] p(ondo) .. .a . . . dedicavit . . . [*Anto*]nino Aug . . . cos.

[69] 3867-80, 7765. 3867 and 3868 are still in the church. 3869, 3870 and 7765 are now in the monastery of St. Paul outside the walls of Rome, but the first two inscriptions are known to have come from Nazzano, and 3870 certainly and 3869 probably were in the church of S. Antimo. 3870 . . . epote di . . . Seperna . . .rum.

[70] See Wissowa 218 ; s. v. Bona Dea, Pauly-Wissowa.

[71] Bormann quotes Buecheler's statement that the name of Dalmatia quoted by Pliny III 142 (Separi) and by Ptolemy III, 16, 5 (Σιπαρούντων) are from the same root. Cf. also Schulze, 531, 569.

MAGNA MATER.

A private dedication was discovered at Nazzano beneath the church of S. Antimo [72].

TERRITORY OF CAPENA AND LUCUS FERONIAE [73].

NUMISIUS MARTIUS.

A bronze vessel from the territory of Capena now in the Villa Giulia Museum bears the inscription Mar(cus) Popi(os) St(ati) f(ilius) N(umisio) Mart(io) d(onum) d(edit) m(eritod) [74]. The same cult of Numisius Martius was recognized by Gatti in an inscription found near Ponzano, which he read Munio Regenai Numesio M[art]i[o] d(onum) d(edit) l(ubens) m(eritod) [75]. But the reading of the first two words of the stone is very doubtful. Kretschmer, judging from a cast in Bormann's possession, deciphers the inscription as follows: Munibregenae Numesio M. f. d. d. l. m [76]. He sees in it evidence for a local cult of a goddess Munibregena, a form similar to *terrigena*, *montigena*, going back to some such family name as *Muniber*. But the reading is too uncertain to permit any definite conclusions as to cult, and the form seems strange for the name of a divinity.

From two dedications to Numisius Martius discovered in Rome it is likely that the god was the patron of the Numisian *gens* [77]. The form of the title is unique, differing from such combinations as Minerva Matusia, Janus Curiatius, in that the god's name, not the *gens* name, takes the subordinate position as epithet. There is not, it would seem, such absolute assimilation to Mars as is found in the Mars sive Numiternus of Atina, the patron divinity of the Numitorii, whose name is undoubtedly related in origin to the more common Numisii (Schulze 164, 198). The adjective Martius, like Mavortius[78], ought rather to mean " son of Mars " " belonging to Mars ". This association of the Numisii and the Numitorii with Mars naturally calls to mind Numitor, father of Rhea Silvia and grandfather of the sons of Mars, and supplies one more indication of underlying truth in the myths of early Roman history[79]. The Etruscan origin of the Numisii and Numitorii has been demonstrated with great probability by Schulze.

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[72] 3861 Avonia T . . . et Trebatia m(atri) d(eum) [*d*(*onum*) *d*(*ant*)].

[73] Tomassetti (*op. cit.* III 320) notes that at Prosciano near Civitella were found resti di un tempio con rocchi di colonne e due bolli, uno delle officine Domiziane minori e l'altro cristiano con inscrizione in nomine dei.

[74] Published by Kretschmer from a copy secured from Bormann, *Glotta* VIII (1917), 139; *CIL.* I² 2435.

[75] Gatti, *Bull. Com.* 1906, 61-64 (Dessau 9231; *CIL.* I (2²) 2436; XI 7762).

[76] Kretschmer, *l. c.* 137-8.

[77] *CIL.* VI 476 (Dessau 3147) [*Nu*]misio Mar[*tio*] M. Trebonio C. l. donum dat liben[s] meritod. *CIL.* VI 30986 (Dessau 3148) . . .onius Q. f. Numisio Martio donum dedit meritod.

APOLLO.

At Civitella were discovered two dedications to Apollo, both set up by a certain L. Iulius Faventinus[80].

SILVANUS.

Two dedications to the god have been found in this district, both of unknown provenience[81].

MITHRAS.

At Turrita near Nazzano was found a statue 65 cm. high of a Mithraic torchbearer dressed in the usual costume of tunic, trousers, chlamys, and oriental cap, and holding a torch in the left hand. The right hand is missing. On the base of the statue is the inscription (3865) Hymnus inbicto[82].

IUPPITER SABAZIUS AND FORTUNA SANCTA.

In the ducal palace of Fiano there is a dedication to Jupiter Sabazius and Fortuna Sancta the exact provenience of which is unknown [83]. The combination is unique though Fortuna is often worshipped with other oriental gods [84].

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[78] Cf. Buecheler, *Rhein. Mus.* LXIII (1908) 195-6.

[79] W. F. Otto, *Rhein. Mus.* LXIV (1909) 450.

[80] 3858a. L. Iulius Faventinus Apollini d. d.; 3858 b. L. Iu[*lius*] Faven[*tinus*] Apo[*llini*] p.

[81] 3863 Cn. Cornelius Charito A. Timinius Ianuarius M. Quintilius Hermero[s] Abascantus Cn. Corneli Charitonis ser. Silvano libes. animo don. deder; 3864. Silvano sacrum Q. Lollius Diono.

[82] Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Vol. II p. 122. 260; Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana*, III 328-329, says that the statue has been brought to Rome.

CHRISTIANITY.

Since Capena is not mentioned in early ecclesiastical tradition, the only authority for the spread of Christianity consists in the remains of cemeteries and inscribed monuments, which are fairly abundant in the district [85]. The chief site where Christian settlements are attested is on the Flaminian Way, the station at the twentieth milestone, *ad vicesimum*, as it is called in the itineraries, where a road branched off to Capena and Lucus Feroniae [86]. The numerous other sites in the region where antiquities have been found have provided little evidence for the early Christian period. A small underground cemetery was however found between Nazzano and Civitella [87]. A preliminary notice was published in 1911 of the discovery of a more important subterranean cemetery near Leprignano. Among the inscriptions, most of which have so far not been published, were two with consular dates, 344 and 350 [88].

Only one gallery of the subterranean cemetery discovered at the twentieth milestone of the Via Flaminia has been explored and no certain evidence for its chronology has come to light. Various considerations however led De Rossi to believe that it was somewhat earlier than the cemetery of Theodora at Rignano. Four inscriptions from the catacombs, one of which seems to be of pagan character, have been found (4024-4027).

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[83] 7763. *Notizie* 1905, 363. Dessau 9277. Iovi Sabazo optimo et Fortunae Sanctae M. Caerellius Sossius ex viso [*don*]um dedit.

[84] Close to the Via Tiberina near Procoio Nuova was discovered a marble tablet on which was inscribed in poor letters Carmen Priapeum XIV (3862).

[85] See De Rossi's discussion of the Christian monuments of this region, *Bullettino di Archeologia cristiana*, 1883, 115-159.

[86] See *Notizie*, 1878, 260; 1880, 378.

[87] De Rossi, l. c. 126. Perhaps from the same neighborhood comes the inscription of the year 469, 4078, which is designated by Stephanus Gavoti as *lapis inventus apud lucum Feroniae*, 1493.

[88] Marucchi, *Nuovo Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1911, 239-240.

3. FALERII AND ITS TERRITORY.

Extensive neolithic remains in caves of the region[1] and abundant relics of the Villanova period, prove that the *ager Faliscus* was inhabited at an early date[2]. In addition to distinctive types of local pottery, the importations of Proto-Corinthian and Corinthian ware and Black and Red figured Attic vases, though less splendid than the discoveries at Caere and Tarquinii, show active trade with the outside world during the seventh, sixth, and fifth centuries. These discoveries and considerable remains of bucchero, the marks of an Etruscan site, accord with the general tradition in which Falerii is regarded as an Etruscan city. Yet Strabo's statement (V 2, 9) τινὲς δὲ καὶ τοὺς Φαλίσκους πόλιν ἰδιόγλωσσον < λέγουσιν > finds confirmation in numerous Faliscan inscriptions written in a dialect which, while heavily influenced, especially in proper names, by Etruscan, is more closely related to Latin than to any other known Italic dialect[3]. However numerous and powerful the Etruscans may have been at Falerii, a large proportion of the inhabitants must have continued to use the native forms.

The prominence of Juno's worship at Falerii, which gave the title Iunonia to the colony later established there, is the only foundation for the statement made repeatedly by ancient writers that Falerii was a colony of Argos, the great centre of Hera's cult in Greece[4]. The city appears first in Roman tradition in Rome's wars with Veii and Fidenae with which towns Falerii generally — but not always — made common cause (Livy IV 17-18, 21). During the siege of Veii, Falerii and Capena, according to Livy, made an unsuccessful attempt, at the great Etruscan gathering at the shrine of Voltumna, to arouse the other Etruscan communities to aid Veii against Rome (Livy V 17). In the year after the fall of Veii the Faliscans, who had valiantly fought for their neighbors, were besieged by Camillus[5]. The popular legend of their surrender in admiration for Camillus's refusal to accept the Faliscan schoolmaster's betrayal of their children has made this siege famous[6]. From 357 to 351 Falerii joined with Tarquinii in a war against Rome that centered largely about the possession of the saltworks north of the Tiber's mouth[7]. The truce of forty years which the two cities entered into with Rome in 351 was exchanged for a *foedus* by the Faliscans in 343 (Livy VII, 38), the reason for the change, according to Livy, being Rome's success over the Samnites. Henceforth Falerii was no longer classed with the Etruscans ; she did not join them in the wars of 311-8 or of 296-294, though she rebelled with other Etruscan cities in 293, the year after the latter Etruscan war was over[8]. She certainly remained an ally of Rome until 241. The circumstances of the city's revolt in that year just at the end of the First Punic War are obscure[9]. It is only certain that both consuls were sent against the city and that after a few days they won a victory of sufficient importance to warrant a triumph for both. The most significant outcome of that revolt was the removal of the Faliscans from their almost impregnable city at Civita Castellana to a much more accessible site about three miles away[10]. The city's status as an ally was probably unchanged until the Social War[11]. The extensive ruins of the town built then and in turn deserted in the ninth century when the inhabitants returned to Civita Castellana provide one of the best existing examples of Roman fortification[12]. Although the town must from its size and from the inscriptions preserved have continued important, it is rarely mentioned. The statement of the *Liber coloniarum*[13] that Falerii was colonized by the *triumviri* is disproved by the inscriptions which show that it was a *municipium* in the early Empire. It was not until the reign of Gallienus that the Colonia Iunonia was established there.

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[1] Rellini, *Mon. Ant.* XXVI (1920) 1-170.

[2] On the Villanova remains see Pinza, *Bull. Pal. It.*, 1898, 47-64 and 110-143. Cf. also Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, 43 ff.

[3] The dialect inscriptions of Falerii have been published with a valuable introduction and commentary by Herbig, *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*, II, 8001-8448. Cf. also Buonamici, *Il Dialetto Falisco*, Imola (1913); Deecke, *Die Falisker* (1888).

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[4] Cf. Pliny *N. H.* III 51, intus coloniae Falisca Argis orta (ut auctor est Cato) quae cognominatur Etruscorum etc.; Dion. Hal. I 21 ; Ovid, *Am.* III 13, 32 ; *Fasti* IV 73 ; Solinus II 7 ; Steph. Byz. s. v.

[5] At this time comes Diodorus's first reference to Falerii. He records simply the plundering of the city by the Romans and the making of peace the next year. XIV 96, 5 ; 98, 5.

[6] Livy V 27 ; Plutarch, *Camillus* 10 ; Val. Max. VI 5, 1, etc.

[7] Livy VII 16-17, 22.

[8] Livy X 45, 6 ; Frontin. *Strat.* II 5, 9.

[9] Cf. *Fasti triumphales* (*CIL.* I, 1^2 p. 47). For a complete statement of the evidence see Pais, *Fasti Triumphales* II 104 ff.

Although both the Etruscan and the Roman city are identified beyond question, there are several unknown sites in the territory that show remains of the Etruscan or Roman period. Among these may be mentioned Borghetto, Corchiano, Vignanello, Caprarolo, Fabbrica di Roma[14], Narce, whose early necropolis is hardly less important than Falerii's, and Rignano, the last of which is ordinarily included in the territory of Capena but seems more closely related to Falerii. Two ancient sites are to be located in the region, Fescennium, which was an independent community, and Aequum Faliscum[15], which seems to have been a settlement in the plain, identified very probably with ruins near Borghetto a mile and a half west of the Tiber.

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[10] This important fact is recorded only by Zonaras VIII 18.

[11] See Frank, *Klio* XI (1911) 378.

[12] The best description is still that of Dennis, I 97-114.

[13] *Liber Colon.* p. 217. Cf. Cato ap. Pliny III, 51 quoted above, and see Bormann's discussion, *CIL.* XI, p. 465.

[14] See the detailed publication of the necropolis here in *Mon. Ant.* IV (1894). The fact that the discoveries here seem to end with the early fourth century leads to the belief that this was one of the Faliscan *castella* destroyed by Camillus in 396. Latte's association of the *Naharcum numen* (i. e. *nomen*) of the Gubbio tablets with the modern name Narce has won wide acceptance. Cf. however Herbig, *CIE.* II p. 2.

[15] Mentioned by Vergil, *Aen.* VII 695; Sil. Ital. VIII, 489; Strabo V 2, 9, where the emendation Αἰκουουμφαλίσκον seems certain; also recorded on the Tabula Peutingeriana. The identification of the site accepted is that of Cuntz, *Jahreshefte*, II (1899), 87-88. Cf. Kiepert, *Formae Orbis Antiqui*, Text to Pl. XX. The meaning of the term Aequum has been variously explained as associating the Faliscans with the Aequi or as meaning "just" (in connection with which the *fetiales* were associated both with Falerii and with the Aequi) or as meaning the Faliscans of the plain. The last interpretation is the most probable.

Of all the cities of Etruria Falerii has the richest religious history. Most striking is the considerable number of her cults referred to in literature and the evidence that points to Falerii as the city from which the worship of several gods was introduced to Rome. There is evidence, either literary or inscriptional, earlier than 241 B. C. for the worship of Juno, Minerva, Janus, Ceres, and Apollo at Etruscan Falerii. The cults of Juno and Ceres are known to have persisted after 241, both of them, it would seem, at the old sanctuaries in or near the older city. There is moreover good reason to believe that other temples of Etruscan Falerii, of which several are known from the fragments of terracotta decoration, not only continued as cult centres but actually underwent restoration after Roman Falerii was built.

In addition to the temple identified with great probability as the shrine of Juno Curritis, the only sanctuary whose ground plan can in a measure be determined, terracotta decoration belonging to temples of various periods from the sixth to the second century B. C. has been found in three other sites in or near Etruscan Falerii. The remains of these temples can today be studied in the Museo di Villa Giulia [16] at Rome where, with the terracottas from Satricum, Lanuvium, and Veii, they supply material of great importance for the early art of Latium and Etruria. A detailed consideration of these terracottas does not however fall within the scope of this study. One of these temples, the so called *tempio dei sassi caduti*, found south of Civita Castellana across the stream Rio Maggiore, has been attributed to Mercury because of a figure with winged sandals that formed the central *akroterion* and because of the inscription Titoi Mercui efiles (*CIE*. 8036 ff.) found on Etrusco-Campanian vases from the site. The inscription however, by far the more important indication of the temple's identity, has been shown by Herbig to be not a dedication to a god but a feminine name form [17]. The decoration is from two periods, the fifth century and the Hellenistic period. The votive material, small terracotta *arulae* and pyramids, gives no indication as to the nature of the cult observed here [18].

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[16] Full discussions and citations of the literature are found in Della Seta *Museo di Villa Giulia*, 166-205.

[17] Herbig, *Glotta* V (1913-1914) 237-249.

Other terracottas found in Contrada Vignale, the site of the supposed Acropolis of Etruscan Falerii, belong to two temples, one much larger than the other, both of which were decorated in the late sixth or early fifth century and again in the Hellenistic period. The votive offerings, rare in the case of the smaller temple where they consist chiefly of terracotta *arulae* and heads, are numerous from the larger temple. Some of them seem to be later than 241 when the site of Falerii was moved. They include terracotta heads, parts of the face, eyes in large numbers, ears and various parts of the body, such as feet, fingers, breasts, and genital organs. Of particular interest is the figure of a child swathed in bandages.

Another group of terracottas was discovered on a height known as Lo Scasato within the precincts of modern Civita Castellana. The temple which stood here has without adequate reason been assigned to Apollo, the identification being based largely on a figure, believed to represent the god, which adorned one pediment. All the terracottas from this temple are of Hellenistic date, but a recent investigation has shown that they probably belong to two different buildings, one earlier and one later than the removal of the city in 241 [19]. Among the few terracotta *arulae* and other small votive offerings preserved from this temple is conspicuous a terracotta representation of the liver of a sheep, a very significant monument of the *Etrusca disciplina* [20].

JUNO CURRITIS.

Ovid's reference to Iunonicolasque Faliscos (*Fasti* VI 49) and the name *colonia Iunonia* [21] given to the colony founded there clearly show that Juno was regarded as the presiding divinity of the city. A further indication of the goddess's importance is to be found in the

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[18] On these *arulae* see E. Douglas Van Buren, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* II 15-53.

[19] Mary Taylor in collaboration with H. C. Bradshaw, *Papers of the British School at Rome* VIII (1916) 1-34.

[20] Della Seta, *op. cit.* 199.

[21] *Liber Col.* p. 217. The name of the colony is correct even if the date is in error.

pontifex sacrarius Iunonis Curritis who was perhaps the chief religious officer of the colony [22]. It was the prominence of this cult that led Roman antiquarians to assume that Falerii was a colony of Argos, a foundation of a mythical Halesus who brought with him the great cult of his mother-city [23]. Similarities in ritual between the cults of Falerii and Argos are pointed out by Ovid and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (I 21), the latter of whom even makes the statement [24], hardly substantiated by remains of what is probably the goddess's temple, that the temple at Falerii was modelled on the great sanctuary at Argos. Of the special features of resemblance between the two cults which the same writer reports, only the procession of maidens, a very common accompaniment of the worship of a goddess, can actually be paralleled at Argos. But Ovid's more reliable description of what he had himself seen at the annual festival of Falerii gives grounds for the belief that there was in the Faliscan ceremony some form of the ἱερὸς γάμος that was so prominent a feature of the Argive worship [25]. At Falerii as at Rome Juno had been subjected to the influence of the Greek Hera with whom men identified her.

In addition to the two and possibly three inscriptional references to the *pontifex sacrarius Iunonis Curritis* (or *Quiritis*) further evidence for the cult is found in a record of a grove of Juno Curritis which is mentioned by Ovid [26]. More testimony is provided by Tertullian who says that with Juno Curritis there was associated at Falerii a god, Pater Curris, from whom Juno's name was derived [27]. It is furthermore significant, as Otto has pointed out (*Philologus* LXIV 169), that the name Iunius, the relation of which to Juno is undoubted, occurs at Falerii, and — a particularly important fact — is found here alone in dialect inscriptions, in some cases as a *praenomen* (*CIE.* 8167, 8221, 8228).

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[22] 3100 [*C. Nu*]mmius Hor. V[*erus* ...] m provinciae i ... [D]acorum praef... [t]hr trib. leg. I Itali[cae] ... [d]onis militaribu[s donatus ab] imp. Traiano Aug. Ci ... pontif. sacr. Iun. Cu[*rritis*] ... cellam caldari[*am pec. sua fecit*] etc.; 3125. Mammiae C. f. Iustae Q. Tullius Q. f. Horat. Cincius Priscus pontifex sacrarius Iunonis Quiritis patronus municipi testamento poni iussit. Cf. 3152 sacrae Iunoni, an inscription of uncertain reading which Bormann proposes to restore sacra[*r*(*ius*)] Iunoni[*s*]. This title should be sufficient proof against Roscher's view that the worship of Juno Curritis at Falerii was distinct from the cult of Juno, the presiding deity of the city. Cf. Roscher s. v. Juno, 597.

[23] See note 4 above.

[24] Cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* I 187. See Euripides, *Electra* 171 ff.

[25] Ovid, *Amores* III 13 quoted below. See Roscher s. v. Juno, Roscher, 591.

[26] 3126 ... viam sacram a chalcid[i]co ad lucum Iunon. Curritis: another possible reference to the cult of Juno is found in the word Iunon. in 3128. Cf. also *CIE*. 8548 where the word Iunai on a small vase probably does not represent the goddess's name.

The cult of Juno Curritis or Quiritis [28] is also known in Rome, Beneventum, and Tibur. At Rome the *Fasti* of the *Arvales* and the *Fasti Paulini* record under October 7 the words *[I]unoni curriti in campo, Iunoni Q(uiriti) in camp(o)* [29]. At Beneventum was discovered (*CIL.* IX 1547) an archaic dedication to Iunonei Quiritei. For Tibur the evidence for the cult rests upon a prayer quoted by Servius (Danielis) on *Aeneid* I 17 : Habere enim Iunonem currus certum est. Sic autem esse etiam in sacris Tiburtibus constat ubi sic precantur : Iuno Curitis (rr in cod. C.) tuo curru clipeoque tuere meos curiae vernulas.

Almost all the other testimony for the cult is found in scholiasts and glossographers who prepare the way for modern scholars in occuping themselves with the unsolved mystery of the goddess's strange *cognomen*, which they sometimes connect with Quirinus and Quirites. The ancient etymologies connect Curritis with *curis*, the Sabine word for lance [30], *currus* [31], *curia* [32], and Cures, the Sabine city [33]. All these derivations except the connection with *currus* have met with some favor, and the derivations from *curis* and *curia* have both had strong supporters among modern critics. Both explanations are difficult etymologically. The connection with *curis* has in its favor the fact that the goddess, like the warlike Juno Sospita of Lanuvium, was apparently represented with lance and shield [34]. The connection with *curia* gains support from the well-attested fact that Juno was actually worshipped in the *curiae* under the name Juno curis. But this explanation, which offers the most interesting cult connections, is shrouded in the obscurity which envelopes the whole question of the *curiae*.

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[27] Tertullian, *Apol.* 24. Faliscorum in honorem Patris Curris et accepit cognomen Iuno. All the mss. spell Curris with two r's though all the editions print Curis.

[28] Except for Servius where the manuscripts vary between the spellings with one and two *r*'s the glossographers and scholiasts regularly write the form Curitis, never Quiritis, but the inscriptions of Falerii, a much better indication, give the name twice as Curritis and once as Quiritis. For spellings see the Thesaurus, supplement, s. v. Curritis, where however the Pater Curris of Tertullian is erroneously written Curis.

[29] Mommsen, *CIL.* I, 1^2 p. 331.

[30] Festus Paulus p. 55 L. Iunonis Curitis . . . quae ita appellabatur a ferenda hasta quae lingua Sabinorum curis dicitur. See also Festus p. 43 L. ; Plut. *Rom.* 29 ; *Quaest. Rom.* 87, p. 285 c ; Serv. *Aen.* I, 8; cf. Serv. Dan. II, 614 ; Mart. Cap. II 149. This derivation is also given often for Quirinus. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* II 477 ; Macrob. I 9, 16 (from Varro) ; *Fasti Silvii* for Feb. 17 (*CIL.* I 1^2, p. 259). On the later form Quiris which does not occur until Isidorus, see Conway, *Italic Dialects* I 353. This derivation from *curis* seems on the whole to be favored by Wissowa for Juno Curritis 189, n. 3 (where the emendation *tua curi* is suggested for *curru* in the prayer from Tibur). It is also accepted by Thulin

The further suggestion offered by Otto [35] derives *Curritis* from a hypothetical place name Currium or Curria to which Tertullian's Pater Curris, on the analogy of Pater Reatinus and Pater Pyrgensis, lends some support. Similarly Niebuhr's suggestion, which has recently been revived, would derive Quirinus and Quirites from a hypothetical form Quirium, the name of the original settlement of the Quirinal Hill. Kretschmer's recent explanation (*Glotta* X 147-157) of Quirites through the Virites Quirini of Gellius as a derivation from a form *cevirium* (cf. *covehriu* of the bronze tablet from Velitrae) meaning " die vereinigte Mannschaft," may lead to a more probable explanation of Juno's *cognomen*.

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s. v. Juno, Pauly Wissowa 1123 and by J. A. Hild in Daremberg and Saglio s. v. Quirinus.

[31] Cf. the prayer which Servius quotes from Tibur, given above.

[32] Cf. Festus, p. 56, L. Curiales mensae in quibus immolabatur Iunoni quae curis appellata est. Cf. Dion. Hal. II 50, 3. This derivation is preferred by Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III 5, No. 2 and Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II 511.

[33] Schol. on Persius 4,26. Curitis quod nomen loci est unde et Iuno Curitis dicitur quia ibi vehementer colitur.

[34] On the other hand the scant evidence for the cult of Juno among the Sabines is against this derivation. The passage of Festus often quoted to establish the goddess's Sabine origin (cf. Roscher, l. c. 597), Quiritis Iuno dea Sabinorum, is pure emendation (Festus p. 254 M.).

[35] Otto, *Philologus*, LXIV (1905) 197-203. This derivation is preferred in the Thesaurus. Otto suggests that, while the temple in the Campus Martius probably went back to an *evocatio* of Juno Curritis after the conquest of Falerii in 241, there may have been an earlier cult quite distinct from this, a worship of Juno Quiritis, that was perhaps introduced at Beneventum when the colony was established in 268. This goddess, the presiding divinity of the Quirites, closely related to Iuno Populona, might later have been assimilated with Juno Curritis of Falerii.

In any case the temple of Juno Quiritis in the Campus Martius probably represents an *evocatio* from Falerii and the goddess of Falerii was either identical with or assimilated to Juno as she was worshipped in the *curiae*. At Tibur too, where the cult may well have come from Falerii, the prayer quoted from Servius attests the cult of the goddess in the *curiae*.

Ovid's description of the goddess's annual festival must be considered in more detail (*Amores* III 13):

> Cum mihi pomiferis coniunx foret orta Faliscis,
> Moenia contigimus victa, Camille, tibi.
> Casta sacerdotes Iunoni festa parabant
> Per celebres ludos indigenamque bovem:
> Grande morae pretium ritus cognoscere, quamvis
> Difficilis clivis huc via praebet iter.
> Stat vetus et densa praenubilus arbore lucus;
> Adspice: concedes numen inesse loco;
> Accipit ara preces votivaque tura piorum,
> Ara per antiquas facta sine arte manus.
> Hinc, ubi praesonuit sollemni tibia cantu,
> It per velatas annua pompa vias;
> Ducuntur niveae populo plaudente iuvencae,
> Quas aluit campis herba Falisca suis,
> Et vituli nondum metuenda fronte minaces
> Et minor ex humili victima porcus hara
> Duxque gregis cornu per tempora dura recurvo;
> Invisast dominae sola capella deae;
> Illius indicio silvis inventa sub altis
> Dicitur inceptam destituisse fugam;
> Nunc quoque per pueros iaculis incessitur index
> Et pretium auctori vulneris ipsa datur.
> Qua ventura deast, iuvenes timidaeque puellae
> Praeverrunt latas veste iacente vias;
> Virginei crines auro gemmaque premuntur,
> Et tegit auratos palla superba pedes;
> More patrum Graio velatae vestibus albis
> Tradita supposito vertice sacra ferunt.

Ore favent populi tunc, cum venit aurea pompa,
Ipsa sacerdotes subsequiturque suas.
Argivast pompae facies : Agamennone caeso
Et scelus et patrias fugit Halaesus opes
Iamque pererratis profugus terraque fretoque
Moenia felici condidit alta manu;
Ille suos docuit Iunonia sacra Faliscos ;
Sint mihi, sint populo semper amica suo!

For the date of the festival there is no evidence, though it is tempting to place it on the Kalends, the day always sacred to Juno, of the month of June which we know was named for the goddess in the Latin cities of Aricia, Lanuvium, Tibur, and Praeneste and among the Laurentes (Ovid, *Fasti* VI 59-62). Since the form *Iunonius* given to the month in the first three places appears in the *colonia Iunonia* of Falerii, it is altogether possible that the month may have been similarly named in Falerii. The victims in procession are important. First came snow white heifers, animals for which the Faliscan *ager* was famed[36], the usual offering to Juno, and then a calf, a swine, and a ram. It is possible that Ovid here, with an ignorance of the law of Roman ritual that can easily be paralleled among Latin poets, refers to these victims by error in the masculine just as he is certainly guilty of inaccuracy in coupling together animals of such different ages as a full grown ram (*dux gregis*) and a calf (*vitulus*). But the combination of these three victims whatever their sex immediately recalls the *suovetaurilia*, the expiatory sacrifice to Mars at the *Ambarvalia* — a sacrifice which was also a feature of the obscure ritual of the Arval Brethren[37]. Can it be that a *lustratio agri* such as was celebrated at the *Ambarvalia* also took place in connection with the cult of Juno at Falerii? It is tempting to go further and see in Juno of Falerii an earth goddess like Dea Dia, the divinity of the Arvales, and perhaps in pater Curris whom Tertullian associates with her a form of Mars, a god whose worship is attested at Falerii by the fact that a month was named for him there (Ovid, *Fasti* III 85 ff.). The spear and chariot with which the goddess was represented are no harder to reconcile with an earth deity than are the similarly conflicting aspects of Mars, the god of war and fertility. Here however we are in the realm of pure conjecture and the same may be said of every effort to explain Ovid's account of the slaying of the she-goat, usually Juno's favorite but represented as an object of hatred to the goddess of Falerii [38]. A definite feature of the annual ceremony seems to have been the slaying of this victim not by the regular *ius divinum* on the sacrificial table but by darts thrown by young boys. The one successful in killing the goat received the animal as his prize. There is, as Miss Douglas (Mrs. Van Buren) has pointed out [39], evidence of taboo in this type of expiatory sacrifice. The explanation that Juno's hiding place had been betrayed by the goat is of course purely aetiological.

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[36] Pliny *N. H.* II 230; Ovid, *Fasti* I 84; *ex Ponto* IV 8, 41. These victims seem to have been both male and female. Under Roman ritual only female victims could be sacrificed to a goddess. See Krause, *De Romanorum hostiis quaestiones selectae*, Dissertation, Marburg, 1894, 22 f. on such inaccuracies in Latin poetry.

[37] Here as always this sacrifice was made to Mars. See Wissowa 562, note 3; Oldenberg, *De sacris fratrum Arvalium quaestiones*, Dissertation, Berlin, 1875, 42 ff.

There is a record from Aristeides's *Italica* that Juno of Falerii received an annual offering of a heifer, a victim substituted for a maiden whose sacrifice an oracle had ordered to avert a pestilence. The story is that when Valeria Luperca, the maiden on whom the lot had fallen, was about to be slain, an eagle snatched away the sword, transferred it to a heifer grazing near the temple, and thrust a hammer into the flames of the fire on the altar [40]. The maiden sacrificed the heifer and then went about gently striking the sufferers with the hammer and bidding them all recover. Aristeides states that the custom still persisted in his day. The story is too inadequately attested to provide satisfactory material for the cult of the goddess. Efforts have been made to associate the name of the maiden with the *Lupercalia*.

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[38] For the goat in the cult of Juno compare the goddess's epithet Caprotina. The goat as an emblem of fertility among women is indicated by Pliny *N. H.* XXVIII 255 ; compare the goat skins with which women were struck to make them fertile at the festival of the *Lupercalia*. See Thulin s. v. Iuno, Pauly-Wissowa 1117. Juno Sospita was represented with a goat skin over her head.

[39] E. M. Douglas, *Juno Sospita of Lanuvium, J. R. S.* 1913, 61-72.

[40] Pseudo-Plutarch, *Parallela* 35. Λοιμοῦ κατασχόντος Φαλερίους (mss. Χαλερίους), καὶ φθορᾶς γενομένης, χρησμὸς ἐδόθη λωφῆσαι τὸ δεινὸν, ἐὰν παρθένον τῇ Ἥρᾳ θύωσιν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. ἀεὶ δὲ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας μενούσης, κατὰ κλῆρον καλουμένη Οὐαλερία Λουπέρκα ἤγετο εἰς θυσίαν· σπασαμένη δὲ τὸ ξίφος, ἀετὸς καταπτὰς ἥρπασε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμπύρων ἔθηκε ῥάβδον μικρὰν ἔχουσαν σφῦραν, τὸ δὲ ξίφος ἐπέβαλε δαμάλει τινὶ παρὰ τὸν ναὸν βοσκομένῃ. νοήσασα δὲ ἡ παρθένος καὶ τὴν βοῦν θύσασα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν ἄρασα, κατ' οἰκίαν περιῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἠρέμα πλήττουσα διήγειρεν, ἐρρῶσθαι ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ λέγουσα. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν τὸ μηστήριον τελεῖται. ὡς 'Αριστείδης ἐν ἐννεακαιδεκάτῳ 'Ιταλικῶν.

In connection with Ovid's reference to the sacred vessels which the maidens carried on their heads in the procession (cf. Dionysius I 21) we note the significant title of the *pontifex sacrarius Iunonis Curritis*, a priest who, like the *pontifex Volcani et aedium sacrarum* of Ostia, was probably the chief religious officer of Falerii. *Sacrarius*, for which I know of no parallel except the title *sacraria* given to a slave girl in an inscription of Verona (*CIL*. V 3423), should denote the keeper of the *sacrarium*, the room where the sacred *instrumenta* of a temple were stored. In imperial times from which all the evidence dates one would naturally expect it to be, like *aedituus* [41], a menial office held chiefly by slaves and freedmen, the class to which the *sacraria* of Verona belongs. But evidently the sacred objects of Juno in Falerii, like the objects in the *sacrarium* of Ops Consiva in the Regia at Rome [42], were held in such esteem that no one except the chief pontifex of the city might have the care of them.

A temple discovered in 1886 about a mile north of Civita Castellana and some three miles from Roman Falerii has been with strong probability identified as the shrine of Juno Curritis [43]. The temple, the first genuine sanctuary of Etruscan type discovered, is in a low site against the face of a high cliff. Except in the rear its ground plan has been completely obliterated by a swift stream which crosses it. Forty-three meters wide, it had three *cellae* and a portico which extended along the sides but not across the back. The central *cella* and portico are seven metres in width, the side *cellae* each four meters. Behind the central *cella* and one step higher than the temple level an apse eight meters deep extended back of the rear wall of the temple[44]. In this apse which bore evidence of earlier construction than the rest of the temple and probably served later as the *sacrarium* was a large base composed of two layers of tufa blocks. This seems to have been the base of the cult statue to which perhaps belongs the 6th century tufa head found beside it. The remains of a bronze crown on the head, which represents a crude female type, suggests its identification as a cult representation, though the statue is smaller than would have been expected[45]. It is moreover obviously not a type of goddess who would have held a spear. The temple proper seems to belong to the fifth century[46], and the fragments of terracotta ornamentation of antefixes, pediments, and revetments date from the sixth to the third century[47]. Behind the base of the image in a depression of the floor are said to have been found small sacrificial ladles (*simpulae*) of darkish clay and of bucchero and Etrusco-Campanian ware which are however not in the museum with the other remains of decoration and votive offerings. The temple seems not to have continued in use until a late period, for over the left wing of the *pronaos* extended a portion of a small shrine of subsequent date, a *templum in antis* which also had in the rear a *sacrarium*. In front of the temple was another depository for votive offerings from which came the terracotta statuettes, heads, parts of bodies etc., now to be seen in the Museo di Villa Giulia. This shrine seems to have continued in use until the third or fourth century of our era. A small reservoir connected with the stream that has destroyed the temple plan was situated behind the apse of the older temple and from it both the old and the new shrine were supplied with water.

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[41] Cf. Serv. *Aen*. IX 645 for evidence that the *aeditui* were of a higher class in the Republic. Cf. Habel s. v. *aedituus*, Pauly-Wissowa.

[42] Varro *L. L.* VI 21 ; Festus p. 292 L. Cf. Wissowa 203, and note 6. Cf. the worship of the sacred utensils in Arval ritual, on which see Warde Fowler, *Rel. Exp*. 489-490.

[43] Pasqui, *Notizie* 1887, 92-100 ; see *A. J. A.* 1887, 460 ff.

The identification of this temple as the sanctuary of Juno Curritis, proposed by Gamurrini[48], has much in its favor. That it was a temple of considerable importance is evident from its size and from the numerous roads that lead to it. Of these at least four were identified, connecting the site with Falerii veteres, Falerii novi, Corchiano and a shrine further up the ravine which will be discussed later. It is evident that the divinity to whom the central *cella* was dedicated occupied a position of preeminence over the other two deities worshipped here and the head of a female figure discovered supports the attribution of that *cella* to a goddess. Moreover there are certain correspondences with Ovid's description of the site. In 1873 about 500 meters up stream considerably above the level of this temple there was found an ancient altar of rough tufa blocks, constructed on a platform of the same material [49]. It lay across the present bed of the stream which has since completely destroyed it. In a water channel along one side of the altar and in a grotto hollowed out in it were found numerous votive offerings—pieces of stone of early date, coins, bronze statuettes, terracotta votive offerings in which female figures and parts of the body, especially the breasts, predominated. This votive material which unfortunately has since been scattered was dated by Gamurrini chiefly before the second century B. C. though he saw signs of a revival of the cult in imperial times. Now both from Ovid's description and from the inscription 3126 it is clear that the grove of Juno Curritis lay outside the city. Ovid's words *difficilis clivis huc via praebet iter* fit the deep ravine that has to be crossed on the road (the *via sacra* of 3126?) from temple to altar. The site which is now under cultivation must have been, when wooded, impressive enough for the abode of a deity (*concedes numen inesse loco*). Most striking is the correspondence of the altar described with Ovid's *Ara per antiquas facta sine arte manus* from which the procession set forth, presumably to the temple below, though Ovid makes no reference to it. This is the less surprising because in his day only the small shrine of the later period could have been in use.

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[44] For a reconstruction of the temple see H. Degering in *Nachr. Kön. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. Hist. Kl.* 1897, 155 ff. Cf. Durm's comments, *Bauart der Etrusker und Römer* 104 ff. See other literature cited in Della Seta, *op. cit.* 201.

[45] *Notizie* 1887, Pl. II; cf. Della Seta *op. cit.* 201.

[46] Cf. Delbrueck, *Die drei Tempel im Forum Holitorium* 39-40.

[47] Cf. the winged feline animal (Della Seta, *op. cit.* 201) that stood beside the door.

[48] *Notizie* 1887, 101-107.

If this is the famous sanctuary of Juno Curritis we may conclude that she was a goddess to whom vows for health were made and that, as frequently elsewhere, Juno here presided over motherhood and birth. She was, as the tripartite *cella* shows, worshipped with other divinities, though it is impossible to determine who they were. Perhaps one of them was the Pater Curris mentioned by Tertullian. Finally we may note that the form of the goddess's temple closely corresponds to Vitruvius's description of the Tuscan temple and has numerous parallels in Etruscan and Latin territory. The Latin-Etruscan form of this temple perhaps provides additional evidence against the Sabine origin of Juno Curritis.

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[49] Gamurrini *l. c.* and Kieseritzky, *Bull. dell'Inst.* 1880, 108-113.

MINERVA.

Besides the worship of Minerva as a member of the Capitoline Triad, the cult of the goddess is known from a dedication on a bronze plaque found in Falerii novi [50]. The inscription which presents an interesting combination of Faliscan and Latin names dates after the foundation of Falerii novi in 241 but not later than the early second century. Since it represents a vow to Minerva made by the chief magistrate of Falerii by decree of the municipal senate, the official character of the cult at Falerii is obvious.

Further evidence for this worship at Falerii is provided by Ovid's comments on the name Minerva capta under which the goddess was worshipped in a small shrine on the Caelian [51] (*Fasti* III, 843-4):

an quia perdomitis ad nos captiva Faliscis
venit? et hoc ipsum littera prisca docet.

This explanation of *capta* is distinctly the most probable of the three that Ovid gives. The *littera prisca* was very possibly an archaic inscription in the shrine which indicated that the goddess came by *evocatio* from Falerii, presumably at the time of the destruction of the older city in 241.

The chief cult of Minerva at Rome, represented by the temple of the goddess on the Aventine[52], is also believed by modern scholars to have come from Falerii, presumably before 241, although there is no actual evidence for the worship until 207[53]. The goddess's Italic name leads us to seek her origin in an Italian town, and with the possible exception of Orvinium, the town of the Aequi where Varro mentions a prominent cult of Minerva[54], Falerii is the only Italic city where there is evidence for the worship of Minerva at an early period. The importance which Minerva acquired among the Etruscans, shown by her association with Jupiter and Juno in the Triad of gods who had temples and gates dedicated to them in every Etruscan city, the attribution to her in the *Etrusca disciplina* of the power to hurl the thunderbolt (Servius Dan. on *Aen.* I 46) and her constant identification with Athena on inscribed Etruscan mirrors, is the easier to understand if the Etruscans found and absorbed a strong cult of Minerva in Falerii, a city which preserved a conspicuously Italic character. It may well have been in Falerii that the combination of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva originated, though there is insufficient evidence to warrant any conclusion. The cult of Minerva at Falerii was probably like the worship of Minerva on the Aventine where she was preeminently the goddess of crafts and guilds, with nothing of the political character as leader of the state that she subsequently acquired from the Greek Athena.[55] Evidence for a *collegium* of cooks at Falerii shows the city's development along such lines as early as the beginning of the second century B. C.

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[50] *CIL.* XI 3081 (I 2^2, 365). *CIE*, II 8340 · Menerva sacru La(rs) Cotena La(rtis) f(ilius) pretod de zenatuo sententiad vootum dedet, cuando datum rected cuncaptum. The best interpretation of the last line seems to be that of Bréal (quoted by Lommatsch, *CIL.* I 2^2, 365) cum datum esset, recte conceptum est. Note that vootum dedet seems to be equivalent to votum solvit.

[51] Referred to as *Minervium*, Varro, *L. L.* V 47.

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[52] Aust, *De aedibus sacris* 42 f. has shown that it was this temple of the goddess, not, as Ovid states, the small shrine on the Caelian which was originally dedicated on March 19, the day already given over to Mars's festival of the Quinquatrus with which Minerva came to be associated. A festival of the Faliscans known as Decimatrus (i. e., the tenth day after the Ides), is mentioned by Festus (p. 306 L.), but there is no adequate reason for associating it, as Deecke does (*Die Falisker* 90), with the cult of Minerva.

[53] Festus, p. 306 L. Cf. Wissowa, 252 ff. where the important literature is cited.

[54] Varro, ap. Dion. I 14, 3. Wissowa, 253 n. 2 thinks that this cult at Orvinium was Varro's basis for stating that Minerva was a Sabine goddess (*L. L.* V 74).

[55] Thulin's identification of Minerva with Fortuna is not convincing. Cf. *Rh. Mus.* LX (1905) 256-261.

JANUS.

A statue of Janus Quadrifrons that was said to have come from Falerii was set up by Domitian in a four-sided shrine in the Forum Transitorium where Lydus says it still existed in his day [56]. Servius's association of it with Falerii is definite, and the origin is confirmed by Macrobius [57]. The lack of other evidence for the cult of Janus Quadrifrons hardly gives adequate ground for questioning this tradition, as Wissowa and Otto do [58]. On the other hand there is no reason to follow Deecke in the belief that Janus was originally an Etruscan god [59]. His name in the form *ani* on the "bronze liver" of Piacenza and the representations of the two-headed Janus on Etruscan coins, notably those of Volaterrae, prove that he had a cult in Etruria. Yet the Roman *aes grave* with representations of Janus antedates the Etruscan, and everything points to the Etruscans as the borrowers of the worship. They probably found it in Latin Falerii.

CERES.

The temple of the goddess is mentioned in an Augustan inscription of four *magistri Augustales* who paved the *viam Augustam ab via Annia extra portam ad Cereris* (3083). From another inscription it is clear that the *via Augusta* connected the *Porta Ciminia* [60], probably the north gate of Roman Falerii, with the *Via Annia*, a crossroad in the district, several times mentioned, which seems to have united the Flaminia and the Cassia [61]. The temple of Ceres was evidently on a continuation of the Via Augusta beyond its junction with the Annia, and therefore lay at some distance from Falerii novi, very probably in or near the site of the older town. It is in accord with Vitruvius's provisions for Ceres's temple to lie outside the city limits (I 7). As at Capena and in a *pagus* near Nepet Ceres was here probably the equivalent of the Greek Demeter whose cult was brought to Rome in 496. But the old Italic goddess is honored in an early inscription in the Faliscan dialect on a terracotta cinerary urn that was found near Civita Castellana (*CIE.* 8079)[62]:

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[56] Lydus, *De mensibus* IV I; cf. Martial X, 28. Servius and Macrobius (quoted below) mention the Faliscan origin of the statue.

[57] Servius on *Aen.* VII, 607. Postea captis Faleriis civitate Tusciae inventum est simulacrum Iani cum frontibus quattuor. Cf. Macrobius, *Sat.* I, 9, 13 [Ianus] apud nos in quattuor partes spectat ut demonstrat simulacrum eius Faleris advectum.

[58] Wissowa, 106; Otto s. v. Ianus, Pauly-Wissowa suppl. 1182.

[59] Cf. Deecke, *Etruskische Forschungen* II, 125 ff.

[60] 3126. Viam Augustam a Porta Ciminia usque ad Anniam. Cf. Pasqui's notes, *Notizie* 1887, p. 93, on a *via selciata* which is a prolongation of the *decumanus* of Falerii, and is bordered by remains of tombs.

[61] See Huelsen, s. v. Annia Via, Pauly-Wissowa. On the *curatores* of the Annia which is mentioned with the Via Clodia, Cassia, Ciminia etc. cf. Cantarelli, *Bull Com.* 1891, 100-107.

> ceres far me[*l ferc*]tom l[o]uf[om] vi[no]m a[dkap]iad
> euios mama z[e]xtos med f-iqod
> pravios urnam so . . . orded karai
> eqo. rneu. tela fitai dupes
> arcentelom hut ilom pe para. douiad.

This inscription which probably belongs to the 6th century B. C. (Thulin, *Rh. Mus.* LXIII 254-259) is undoubtedly the earliest evidence in existence for the cult of Ceres. Of religious significance are the comparatively simple first line and the last two, the interpretation of which is much disputed. It seems however to be certain that *tela* is equivalent to Tellus and that the lines contain a prayer that the soil may be fertile and bring forth fruit. The inscription thus gives evidence of the early connection between the festivals of the two divinities.

FORTUNA.

In 217 before the battle of Cannae the following *prodigium* is recorded by Livy (XXII 1): et Faleriis caelum findi velut magno hiatu visum, quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effulsisse, sortes sua sponte adtenuatas unamque excidisse ita scriptam: Mavors telum suum concutit[63]. Here as at Caere where a similar diminution in the numbers of the small tablets on which the lots were written is recorded there must have been an oracle cult of Fortuna which was similar on a smaller scale to the great worship of the goddess at Praeneste and to the oracle of Fortuna near Patavium[64]. The lots at Falerii must have resembled, not those at Praeneste which were of wood and were kept in an *arca*, but those from the shrine near Patavium, some examples of which in bronze have come down to us[65]. Since they seem to have been tied together and hung up it is easy to see how one of them could have fallen out. This cult at Falerii must have continued in vigor after the capture of the city but have declined before the beginning of the Empire, for Cicero speaks of the worship at Praeneste as the only such oracle cult that remained in his day (*De Div*. 85-6).

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[62] I have reproduced the inscription without the dots and signs of the original. See Herbig, *Glotta* II (1909) 184. For Buonamici's Latinization of the inscription see *Il Dialetto Falisco* 49.

[63] Plutarch's account of the omens, *Fab.* 2, makes no reference to the *sortes*.

MARS.

At Falerii, as in many towns of Latium, among the Hernicans, and among the Sabines (Ovid, *Fasti* III 85ff.) a month was sacred to Mars, in this case the fifth month. There must have been a cult of Mars here. Further evidence is provided by the lot that fell out at the oracle of Falerii. Its inscription *Mavors telum suum concutit* (Livy XXII 1) would indicate features in the worship of Mars similar to those at Rome where the moving of Mars's *hastoe* is a significant *prodigium* (Wissowa 144 n. 2).

APOLLO.

The word Apolonos scratched in Faliscan letters on the fragmentary base of a Red-figured cylix that was found on the supposed citadel of Falerii veteres clearly indicates a votive offering to the god at Falerii (*CIE*. 8030). In a tomb of the nearby necropolis of La Penna was discovered another possible votive offering, a crude cup of native ware with the inscription Apolo in retrograde letters (*CIE*. 8182). With these two inscriptions is to be compared a fragmentary dedication of early date said to have been found at Falerii (probably Roman Falerii). Here too the archaic spelling of the god's name is retained (3073 = I 2^2 1991) [U]mpricius C. f. . . . Aburcus Q. [A]polinei dat. The cult of Apollo may have come to Falerii from Rome where the god, the first Greek divinity to gain a foothold, was worshipped at least from the very beginning of the Republic. Praeneste too had a cult of Apollo at an early period and temples are attested in a number of Italian cities as early as the second century (Wissowa 294, note 4). The cult of the god Soranus on neighboring Soracte who was assimilated to Apollo will be considered separately.

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[64] Cf. Otto s. v. Fortuna, Pauly-Wissowa; Bouché-Leclerq. *Histoire de la Divination* (1882) IV 146-7. See discussion of Caere.

[65] Marquardt, *Staatsverw*. II 194; Lommatsch, *CIL*. I 2^2, 689-690.

SILVANUS.

From Falerii novi comes the dedication Silvano Veturiano (3082).

CAPITOLINE TRIAD.

A dedication to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva inscribed on a small bronze plaque was found within the walls of Roman Falerii where it is the only relic of the Capitolium which must once have existed there[66]: Iovei Iunonei Minervai Falesce, quei in Sardinia sunt, donum dederunt; magistreis L. Latrius K. f. C. Salv[e]na Voltai f. coiraveront. On the other side of the plaque are six Saturnian verses dating from the same period as the dedication, presumably from the second century B. C.:

> Gonlegium, quod est aciptum aetatei age(n)d[ai].
> opiparum a[d]veitam quolundam festosque dies,
> quei soveis aastutieis opidque Volgani[67]
> gondecorant sai[pi]sume comvivia loidosque,
> ququei huc dederu[nt i]nperatoribus summeis,
> utei sesed lubent[es be]ne iovent optantis.

Apparently Falerii, which was famous for its sausages[68], was also well supplied with good cooks (*ququei* = *coqui*), some of whom it sent to the new Roman province of Sardinia. On their return home these men set up this dedication in the temple of the Capitoline Triad. The *imperatores summi* are evidently identical with Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, though the title *imperator* is nowhere else attested for these gods. Jupiter Imperator is however known to have had a cult at

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[66] 3078 (7483 = *CIL.* I 2^2 364 = *CIE.* 8341). See Buecheler, *Carm. Ep.* 2, with the important comments there on the date. Cf. Lindsay's convenient note on this inscription, *Handbook of Latin Inscriptions* 67-9.

[67] For the special devotion of cooks to Vulcan, cf. Plautus, *Aulularia* 359.

[68] Cf. *venter Faliscus*, Varro, *L. L.* V 111; Martial IV 46, 8; Statius, *Silvae* IV 9, 35.

Praeneste [69] from which city Cincinnatus brought the god's statue in his triumph to Rome and dedicated it in the Capitolium between the *cellae* of Jupiter and Minerva. But the phrase *imperatores summi* used at Falerii may be no more than a literary paraphrase which has no reference to a special epithet of the god.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

The inscriptions so far discovered at Falerii record no priests of the imperial cult and no *Augustales* or *seviri Augustales*. *Magistri Augustales* are however attested by two inscriptions, of which one is certainly and the other is probably Augustan. These officials were in reality identical with the *vicorum magistri*, the freedman priests who had charge of the cult of the Lares Compitales and the Genius of the Emperor [70]. The inscription of Nepet which is the earliest attested evidence of the cult outside Rome will be discussed later. The fact that surely Augustan inscriptions of this type are found only at Nepet, Cosa, and Falerii may indicate that the term *magister Augustalis* for these officers originated in Etruria.

A statue from Roman Falerii bears the inscription Victoriae Augg. (7486).

A private dedication to the Genius of Augustus and Tiberius and the Juno of Livia, set up by a freedwoman, dates toward the end of the reign of Augustus [71].

MAGNA MATER AND ISIS.

These two divinities enjoyed a joint worship at Falerii. A man who had held the chief municipal offices of the town and had been *quaest*(*or*) *alim*(*entorum*) *Caes*(*aris*) was *sacerd*(*os*) *Isid*(*is*) *et matr*(*is*)

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[69] Cf. Livy VI 29, 8. See Aust s. v. Iuppiter, Roscher 642-5.

[70] 3083. Honoris imp. Caesaris divi f. Augusti pont. maxim. patr. patriae et municip. magistri Augustales C. Egnatius M. l. Glyco C. Egnatius C. l. Musicus, C. Iulius Caesar L. Isochrysus Q. Floronius Q. l. Princeps viam Augustam ab via Annia extra portam ad Cereris silice sternendam curarunt pecunia sua pro ludis. The second inscription (3135, Mag. Augus. anni quarti) is of especial significance because here the *magistri Augustales*, like the *vicorum magistri* of Rome, indicated their years of service on the stone.

[71] 3076, Genio Augusti et Ti Caesaris Iunoni Liviae Mystes l.

deum[72]. Fragments of a marble *aedicula* have been found near Falerii with the following dedication (7484): Isidi [*et matri deum*] C. Metilius Sp. f. Suc. Saturninus Sev[*ir Aug. ex s. c.* [73]] et ex dec. consulari utrisque de[*is*]. Near by there seems to have been found the lower part of a statue to which an inscription recording the name of this same C. Metilius Saturninus (7484 a) probably belongs. The cults of Magna Mater and Isis are often associated; at Aeclanum and Ostia the same person is priest (or at Aeclanum priestess) of the two goddesses, though at Ostia certainly the shrines seem to have been independent [74]. But a common shrine of the two divinities is attested by an inscription found on the east shore of Lacus Benacus[75]. In Falerii have also been discovered a bronze statue of Isis and a seated marble statue of Serapis [76].

Juppiter Ammon.

The inscription Hammo on a small cippus of peperino now at Civita Castellana (3077) indicates the cult in this region of Juppiter Ammon, an African god who combined elements of Phœnician and Cyrenaic gods (Wissowa 375). In Italy his cult is elsewhere attested only by a dedication from the Transtiberine district in Rome (*CIL.* VI, 378).

Di Synnavi.

The inscription di synnavi (3074) from Civita Castellana is probably to be associated with some eastern cult.

Official Priests.

During their war with Rome in 356 B. C., the priests of the Faliscans and the Tarquinienses are said to have appeared in battle and terrified the opposing Romans by their gleaming torches and the serpents which they bore[77]. Little is known of the character of these early priests, but there are a few references in the dialect inscriptions that seem to refer to priests. Thus the title *haracna* which occurs in one case is evidently equivalent to *haruspex*[78]. With it is combined the form *sorex* or *sor*. This term has, with some degree of probability, been associated with Apollo's epithet Soranus and his priests the Hirpi Sorani in the cult practised on Mt. Soracte[79].

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[72] 3123. C. Iulius C. f. Hor. Severus sacerd. Isid. et Matr. Deum quaest. alim. Caes. quaes. r. p. cur. iuv. IIIIvir aed. IIIIvir i. d. IIIIvir quinq. Hic ob honorem aedilitat. hanc [*po*]rticum vetustate dilapsam [*refecit*] etc.

[73] This is Bormann's reading, kindly sent me by Gaheis, who accepts the restoration as probable.

[74] *CIL.* IX 1153; XIV 429.

[75] *CIL.* V 4007. Matri deum et Isid. G. Menatius G. filius Fab. Severus fanum refecit et pronaum de suo fecit ex voto.

[76] Cf. De Witte, *Descr. de la Collection d'ant. de M. Beugnot*, p. 127, No. 377 (quoted by Drexler) and Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, 660, No 4. The festival of *renovatus Osiris* mentioned by Drexler s. v. Isis, Roscher, 411 belongs not to Falerii but to Portus Falesia south of Populonia.

In the later period public priests are numerous. *Pontifices* are known from a number of inscriptions[80]. It is a question whether the *pontifex sacrarius Iunonis Curritis* was identical with the chief *pontifex* of Falerii. A parallel can be found in the *pontifex Volcani et aedium sacrarum*, unquestionably the chief *pontifex* of Ostia, but the evidence is less convincing at Falerii. It is however worth noting that at both places the office is held by men who have held offices beyond the regular municipal cursus. At Falerii one *pontifex sacrarius Iunonis Curritis* was patron of the municipality and the other seems to have been a Roman knight who had held important military offices under Trajan[81]. Similarly at Ostia the *pontifices Volcani* belonged in general to the equestrian order. *Sacerdotes* associated with the cult of Juno are mentioned by Ovid, *Amores* III 13, 2.

As we have seen, no priests of the imperial cult are known from Falerii and no *Augustales* and *seviri Augustales*. *Magistri Augustales* are attested in two inscriptions. A *sacerd*(*os*) *Isid*(*is*) *et matr*(*is*) *Deum* is recorded with an important municipal cursus of the second century (3123); the same man was also *curator iuvenum*.

FESTIVALS OF FALERII.

Festus mentions two festivals of the Faliscans, neither of which can be assigned to any particular divinity. One of them is the

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[77] Livy VII 17, 3, quod sacerdotes eorum facibus ardentibus anguibusque praelatis incessu furiali militem Romanum insueta turbaverunt specie.

[78] *CIL*. I 2^2, 1988, 1989, in the latter of which the title is harisp. Thulin, s. v. *haruspices*, Pauly-Wissowa 2432, suggests that *haracna* may mean *son of haruspex*.

[79] See discussion of Apollo Soranus.

[80] 3115, 3116, 3117, 3124, 3130. The record of an *augur* in 3129 belongs to Tibur (*CIL*. XIV 3672).

[81] 3125, 3100. On the status of the *pontifices Volcani et aedium sacrarum* of Ostia see Carcopino *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie*, 70 ff.

Decimatrus, or tenth day after the Ides, which was sacred among the Faliscans just as the *Quinquatrus* was at Rome and the *Triatrus*, the *Sexatrus*, and the *Septimatrus* at Tusculum[82]. The *Quinquatrus* at Rome, originally a festival of Mars and later associated with Minerva, throws no light on the gods of the other festivals.

The other festival was the *Struppearia*, an occasion on which, it would seem, the priests of Falerii walked in procession, wearing on their heads the *stroppus*, a sort of crown. It is interesting to note that here too Festus draws a parallel with Tusculum where the *stroppus* was placed on the couch of the Dioscuri[83].

CHRISTIANITY.

Although there is no early inscriptional evidence for Christianity here, the town is mentioned in early records of the *Acta Sanctorum*. Under June 23 Felix, a presbyter of Falerii, is named. He was said to have been martyred in 257, having been put to death by Turcius Apronianus who was sent to Etruria against the Christians[84]. He was buried near Sutrium by a certain deacon Irenaeus. Under August 12 are mentioned the names of S. Gracilianus and S. Felicissima virgo, said to have been beheaded here about 310.

TERRITORY OF FALERII.

APOLLO SORANUS ON SORACTE.

Apollo Soranus, the god of Mount Soracte[85], is familiar because of his priests, the Hirpi Sorani, or Soranian Wolves, who, on the god's annual festival, performed the curious ceremony of walking barefoot over hot coals of fire[86]. The evidence for the cult is chiefly literary. The only certain inscriptional record is a dedication found not far from Falerii, the city to whose territory Soracte belonged in Roman times (7485, Dessau 4034), (Gaius) Varius Hermes Sancto Sorano Apollini pro sal[ute] sua et fili sui et patroni sui et coniugis eius et filior. d. d[87]. Perhaps the term *sorex*, which seems to be the title of an office held by two Faliscans, Gaius and Marcus Clipearius, both of whom are at the same time *haruspices*, is also to be associated with the worship[88], though the meaning of *sorex* is by no means certain.

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[82] Festus p. 305-6 L. Quinquatrus festivus dies dictus quod post diem quintum iduum celebraretur . . . ut apud Tusculanos Triatrus et Sexatrus et Septematrus et Faliscos Decimatrus.

[83] Festus p. 410 L. Stroppus est, ut Ateius philologus existimat, quod Graece στρόφιον vocatur, et quod sacerdotes pro insigni habent in capite. Quidam coronam esse dicunt, aut quod pro corona insigne in caput inponatur, quale sit strophium. Itaque apud Faliscos idem festum esse qui vocetur Struppearia, quia coronati ambulent ; et a Tusculanis quod in pulvinari imponatur Castoris struppum vocari.

[84] Bracco, *Martyrologium Romanum*, an appendix to Surius, Historiae seu vitae sanctorum. The work is compiled, Bracco states, mainly from the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists and from Caesar Baronius. For Felix the source quoted is the *Acta S. Mustiolae in Tuscia*.

[85] According to Pliny, *N. H.* VII 19 Soracte seems to have been in the territory of Falerii.

These scant records of the cult on the spot are supplemented by numerous allusions in literature to the god and his priests whose curious titles and strange ritual caused frequent comments. In the Aeneid and in Silius Italicus's *Punica* the god of the mountain is addressed simply as Apollo without the distinctive epithet Soranus; he is appealed to by natives of the territory of Soracte whom the poets represent as sharers in the fire-walking ceremonies in honor of the god. In the Aeneid it is the Tuscan Arruns who calls on him for help in his combat with the maiden warrior Camilla (*Aen.* XI 785-9):

> Summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo,
> Quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo
> Pascitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem
> Cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna.

In the imitation of this passage in the *Punica* Aequanus, a native of the same region, is addressed by Flaminius in a passage which gives us the perhaps not altogether reliable statement that the devotees carried the entrails of the victims through the embers three times (V 175-181):

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[86] On Apollo Soranus see Deecke, *Die Falisker*, 92-97; Wissowa 238 and s. v. *Hirpi Sorani* and *Soranus* Roscher; Otto s. v. *Hirpi Sorani*, Pauly-Wissowa; Mannhardt, *Wald und Feldkulte* II 318-337; Frazer, *Golden Bough* (3rd ed.) XI 14.

[87] The words *et filior. d. d.* were omitted in the original publication of the inscription but are included in the copy sent me by Professor Gaheis.

[88] Herbig *CIE* 8352, 8353; Lommatsch, *CIL* I 2 (2nd. ed.), 1988, 1989. A suggestive explanation of the meaning of this title is to be published by Professor Grace H. Macurdy in a forthcoming number of the *Journal of Roman Studies.*

> Tum Soracte satum praestantem corpore et armis
> Aequanum noscens, patrio cui ritus in arvo,
> Cum pius Arcitenens accensis gaudet acervis,
> Exta ter innocuos laetum portare per ignes:
> "Sic in Apollinea semper vestigia pruna
> Inviolata teras, victorque vaporis ad aras
> Dona serenato referas sollemnia Phoebo."

The same ceremony is described by Strabo who by a curious confusion connects it not with Apollo but with Feronia at whose shrine in the neighboring territory of Capena a great fair was held every year [89]. There seems to be no adequate justification for the confidence that Mannhardt, Frazer, and other students have felt in Strabo on this point.

The priests called Hirpi Sorani are the centre of interest in all other references to the cult. They were drawn, Pliny tells us, from a few families of the region of Falerii [90]. They must have enjoyed the official recognition of the Roman state, for Pliny also says that as a reward for their service to the god the senate exempted them from military service and other burdens of citizenship. Against the dangers of their ceremonies they fortified themselves, according to the sceptical Varro, by applying an efficacious salve to the soles of their feet [91]. Their name *hirpus* is known from the statements of Servius, Paulus, and Strabo to be the Sabine and Samnite word for wolf [92]. Soranus, the epithet of both priests and gods, is more uncertain in origin. The possibility that the term *sorex*, which occurs in two Faliscan inscriptions, and seems to be a priestly title, is related to it has already been noted. There is very probably a connection in origin between Soranus and Soracte, but, in spite of the identification of Soranus with the sungod Apollo, there is little likelihood in the view sometimes held that both words go back to the same root as *sol*[93]. The adjectival form of the name affords support rather for Otto's view that Soranus and Soracte are both independent derivatives from a *gens* name and that Apollo Soranus, like Janus Curiatius, and Numisius Martius, and such neighboring divinities as Feronia of Capena and Hostia of Sutrium[94], represents in origin a tribal deity which acquired a *gens* name.

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[89] Strabo V 2, 9, quoted in discussion of Feronia.

[90] Pliny *N. H.* VII 19: Haud procul urbe Roma in Faliscorum agro familiae sunt paucae quae vocantur Hirpi. Hae sacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soractem Apollini super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes non aduruntur, et ob id perpetuo senatus consulto militiae omniumque aliorum munerum vacationem habent.

[91] Servius on *Aen.* XI 787. Freti pietate iste quidem hoc dicit; sed Varro, ubique expugnator religionis, ait, cum quoddam medicamentum describeret, ut solent Hirpini qui ambulaturi per ignes medicamento plantas tingunt.

[92] Servius on *Aen.* XI 785, quoted below; Paulus p. 93 L.; Strabo V 4, 12.

Although there is no certain evidence of the cult of this god outside of Soracte's region, there is much in favor of Milani's suggestion that the word Sora (formerly read Sord) in the phrase quoi hoi.. sakros esed sora on the famous Forum *cippus* refers to Soranus. The name of a god fits well in the context and it is altogether possible that the cult of this Italic divinity should have been brought from Soracte to Rome[95].

The only explanation of the identification of the priests with wolves is given by Servius. According to his story shepherds were sacrificing to Dis Pater on Soracte, a mountain sacred to the *Di Manes*, when wolves came upon them and stole the entrails of their victims. On pursuing the wolves the shepherds came to a cave from which issued foul-smelling vapors that caused a plague among them. The shepherds were told by an oracle that the plague could be overcome only if they themselves imitated wolves and lived on stolen food. On fulfilling this condition the shepherds became known as Hirpi Sorani, which, says Servius, means wolves of Dis Pater, the god that Soranus really represented [96]. This rationalizing story makes no mention of the fire-walking ceremonies of the priests. It is the only allusion to the god which does not call him Apollo, and it provides the only evidence for believing him to have been identical with Dis Pater.

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[93] Preller-Jordan, *Römische Mythologie* I (3rd ed.) 268; Frazer, *Golden Bough*³, XI, 14.

[94] Otto, s. v. Hirpi Sorani, Pauly-Wissowa; cf. Schulze 235, 371. The Volscian town Sora which gave rise to the identical *cognomen* Soranus in Volscian inscriptions and the modern town Soriano which lies near the Ciminian Lake seem to be derived from the same *gens*.

[95] Professor Gaheis has communicated to me the following note of Bormann on 7485: Nomen dei ipsius mihi constabat recte a Kuranda in inscriptione cippi antiquissimi fori Romani lectum esse. Lectionem Kurandae probans memoravit Milani, *Rendiconti Linc.* d. 20 Mai. 1900, p. 303. Studniczka (quoted by Thurneysen, *Rh. Mus.* LVI 163) and Huelsen, *Klio* II 232, both favor the reading sora. Otto (l. c.) also accepts this identification.

It is strange that in a country which abounds in volcanic manifestations with which the deities of the underworld were regularly associated, so unique and stable a feature of the landscape as Soracte's great limestone mass should be regarded as the abode of Dis Pater. No site west of the Apennines seems less calculated to serve as the abode of the powers of darkness. It is true that the cave with pestilential odors to which Servius says the wolves retired has been associated with Pliny's reference to similar exhalations that were destructive to birds in the region [97]. But it is possible that here, as certainly is the case in another passage [98], Pliny may refer to the spring five miles away, Acqua Forte, the waters of which, saturated as they are with carbonic acid gas, have been said both in ancient and in modern times to be fatal to birds and reptiles [99]. The three deep pits near Santa Romana on the east slope of Soracte which have been associated with the cave of the wolf show no trace of exhalations, and the peasants of the neighborhood today know nothing of such manifestations in the region.

A consideration of parallels for the priests' fire-walking ceremony may assist in determining the true nature of the god. The closest Italic parallel is the custom of springing over crackling straw at the festival of Pales [100]. This custom, identical with the habit, widespread in European lands, of springing over Midsummer and Easter fires, has in it the same idea of the purifying effect of fire that is found in ancient times in the fire-walking ceremonies of the priestesses of Artemis Perasia at Castabala in Cappadocia (Strabo XII 2, 7) as well as in Soranus's priests. In modern times it is attested in China, India, and the Fiji islands [101]. These ceremonies seem to combine the apotropaic with the cathartic, the warding off of evil spirits in future with the exorcizing of evil spirits actually present. There is such a combination in the Roman Parilia where the shepherd's prayer quoted by Ovid (*Fasti* IV 747 ff.) concerns itself with averting future evils and the means of purification (*suffimenta*) distributed by the Vestals to the people, the blood of the October horse and the ashes of the unborn calves sacrificed at the Fordicalia, were designed to drive out evil spirits already there. There was, as Deubner has shown (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XIII 127-136), a similar combination of the cathartic and the apotropaic in the *lustratio agri*; the prayer to Mars which Cato quotes for that occasion is apotropaic but the *lustratio* itself, as is shown by the phrase *lustrum condere*, must have been cathartic in origin even if the cathartic elements of the festival were eventually abandoned. There was probably a similar combination of elements in Soranus's cult, and it is doubtful whether, in spite of Servius's statement, Soranus can be classified as a chthonic divinity any more than Mars can.

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[96] Servius on *Aen.* XI 785. Soractis mons est Hirpinorum in Flaminia conlocatus. In hoc autem monte cum aliquando Diti patri sacrum persolveretur — nam *diis* manibus consecratus est — subito venientes lupi exta *de igni* rapuerunt, quos cum diu pastores sequerentur, delati sunt ad quandam speluncam halitum ex se pestiferum emittentem adeo ut iuxta stantes necaret, *et* exinde est orta pestilentia, quia fuerant lupos secuti. De qua responsum est posse eam sedari, si lupos imitarentur, id est rapto viverent. Quod postquam factum est, dicti sunt populi Hirpi Sorani, nam lupi Sabinorum lingua vocantur hirpi, Sorani vero a Dite, nam Ditis pater Soranus vocatur ; quasi lupi Ditis patris.

[97] Pliny *N. H.* II 207. Spiritus letales alibi aut scrobibus emissi aut ipso loci situ mortiferi alibi volucribus tantum ut Soracte vicino urbi tractu. Cf. Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* VI 28, 1.

[98] Pliny XXXI 27 ; cf. Vitruvius VIII 3, 17.

[99] See Abbate, *Guida della Provincia di Roma* (1894), 59.

The identification of Soranus with Apollo is paralleled, if Soranus really was an underworld divinity, by the chthonic god Vediovis (Wissowa 238) whose statue, we are told, was the type of the death-bringing Apollo (Gellius V 12, 12). But there are other and more probable explanations for the god's identification with Apollo. The third Georgic begins with the words:

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[100] Ovid, *Fasti* IV 775 ff.; Tibullus II 5, 89 ff.; Prop. IV 1, 19; IV 4, 75 ff.; Persius I 72; Probus on Verg. *Georg.* III 1.

[101] Frazer, *Golden Bough*³ XI 14 ff.; Lang, *Athenaeum* for 26th August and 14th October, 1899; *Modern Mythology* 154 ff. Mannhardt, *op. cit.* compares the ceremonies on Soracte with the rites of the Green Wolf of Jumièges in Normandy. He sees in the wolves a personification of the familiar "Getreidewolff." Unfortunately he accepts without question Strabo's association of the ceremonies on Soracte with Feronia, and the etymological connection of Feronia with *far* which he assumes is an important chain in his argument.

> Te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus
> Pastor ab Amphryso, vos silvae amnesque Lycaei

and the lament for Daphnis in the fifth eclogue contains the words (35):

> ipsa Pales agros atque ipse reliquit Apollo.

Here Vergil associates as shepherd divinities Apollo and Pales, the divinity honored at the Parilia, a deity whose sex seems originally to have been uncertain. The identification of Soranus with Apollo may be accounted for by the fact that the Italic god was really a shepherds' divinity. Moreover the Sabine name of Soranus's priests, the Hirpi, providing evidence for genuine totemism in the cult, leads to some parallels between Soranus and the old Italic god Mars, whose resemblances to Apollo have been pointed out by Roscher [102]. The Sabine name Hirpus recalls the Hirpidii, a tribe of the Samnite division of the Sabellic people who, according to tradition, derived their name from the fact that in finding their dwelling place they followed a wolf as their guide (Strabo V 4, 12). Of similar origin are the names Hirpus and Hirpidius found in inscriptions of the Umbrian branch of the Sabellic peoples [103]. With the wolf as founder of a colony may be compared the woodpecker (*picus*) which is said to have rested on the standards of the Picentes and to have guided them to the city of Asculum, subsequently giving his name to the people [104], and the bull from which Bovianum, the chief city of the Samnites, took its name. Now it is significant that the wolf and the woodpecker and to a lesser degree the bull were all sacred to Mars, the god to whom the ancient vow of the *ver sacrum* was usually made [105]. By this vow, resorted to in time of danger, the offspring of man and flock born in the months of March and April of a given year was promised to the god. The children however were not slain but were allowed to grow up to maturity and then driven forth to find a new home. In their search for a dwelling-place their leader was the god to whom the *ver sacrum* had been vowed, sometimes Jupiter but more often Mars, the great god of spring [106], whose worship was widespread among the Sabellic tribes. It was probably in this capacity as special protector of new peoples and colonies that Mars gave his name to the Marsi, the Marrucini, and the Mamertini [107]. Similarly his sacred animals, the wolf, the woodpecker and the bull, which seem to have been identified with him, gave their names to the Hirpini, the Picentes, and the Samnite Bovianum. In view of these facts and of the peculiar association of the wolf with the cult of Mars which is too familiar from the Roman legends to require special demonstration, it is altogether within the range of possibility that the hereditary priesthood of the Hirpi Sorani was made up of the descendants of a Sabellic people who were dedicated to Mars by an ancient *ver sacrum* and who brought to Soracte from their Sabine home the cult of Soranus with its fire-walking ceremonies. Such a Sabellic settlement in the territory of Soracte might go far toward explaining the Sabine elements that are apparent in the cults of Falerii and Capena. But from the absence of characteristic Sabine name forms in the inscriptions of the region [108] and from the Latin character of the dialects of Capena and Falerii, it is clear that the Sabines were but a small element in the population [109].

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[102] Roscher, *Apollo und Mars*; s. v. Mars, Roscher, *passim*.

[103] *CIL*. XI 5626-7, 6246a.

[104] Paulus p. 235 L. Picena regio in qua est Asculum dicta quod Sabini cum Asculum proficiscerentur in vexillo eorum picus consederat. Cf. also Strabo V 4, 1. See Carter s. v. *picus*, Roscher.

[105] Wissowa, 145; Roscher, s. v. Mars, Roscher 2430-2431. Cf. *Martius lupus*, Verg. *Aen.* IX 566; Livy X 27, 9; Horace, C. I. 17, 9; cf. also Livy XXII 1. 12. On the *picus Martius* see *Tab. Iguv.* V. B. 9, 15; Pliny, *N. H.* X 40, XXV

29. On the role of the wolf and the woodpecker in the rescue of Romulus and Remus see passages noted by Wissowa l. c. note 5. The bull is the most frequent sacrificial victim of Mars. See Roscher, l. c. 2431; Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium, passim.*

[106] See Roscher, l. c. 2386. Wissowa's interpretation of Mars as fundamentally a war god (141 ff.) leaves much that cannot be explained. See Bailey, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Fastorum Liber* III (1921) 33-47 for an interesting reconciliation of the two views of Mars.

[107] See Roscher, l. c. 2425-2427.

[108] Cf. Schulten, *Italische Namen und Stämme, Klio* II (1902) 167-193; 440-465; III (1903) 235-267.

[109] A seeming parallel to the Hirpi Sorani is found in the *luperci Fabiani* and *Quinctiales* of Rome, the strange priests of Faunus of whom Augustus instituted a

If Soranus was closely related to or identical with Mars [110] it is easy to understand why he was assimilated to Apollo. Of particular significance is the fact that in fundamental character the worship of Apollo Lukeios seems to have been a genuine wolf cult [111]. Still more important is it that Apollo like Mars was the special founder and protector of new colonies and peoples [112]. In one case recorded by Festus (p. 150 L.) from Alfius, an historian of the Second Punic War, Apollo is mentioned as the god who commanded a *ver sacrum* among the Samnites. The children sent out on that occasion united with another tribe to form the Mamertini. The name Mamertini is said to have originated from the fact that when the names of the twelve gods were used as lots by which to decide what the new tribe should be called, Mamers, the Oscan name for Mars, was on the lot that fell out. In this confused story there is obviously evidence for the identification of Apollo, the god who ordered the *ver sacrum*, with Mars who gave his name to the Mamertini and was subsequently honored as their chief god. Apollo Soranus may represent a similar identification of Apollo with Mars.

CAVES WITH VOTIVE STIPS.

Recent explorations of the caves in the territory of Falerii undertaken to investigate the neolithic remains which many of them present have resulted also in the discovery in two caves near Corchiano of votive offerings dating from the first centuries before Christ. The objects found in the so called " Caverna della stipe " include numerous

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third group known as the Luperci Iulii. But Deubner has recently shown that there is much to be said for the older view that *lupercus* is derived from *lupus* and *arceo* and that the *luperci* are not wolves but " keepers off of wolves." See Deubner, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XIII (1910), 481 ff.; W. Warde Fowler, *op. cit.* 478-480. Otto (s. v. Hirpi Sorani, Pauly-Wissowa) has noted that a genuine analogy between the two lies in the fact that both priesthoods are associated with specific families. The derivation of Soranus presents difficulties which in view of the established Sabine origin of *Hirpus* are equally great whether the suggestion that the Hirpi Sorani indicate another *ver sacrum* is accepted or not.

[110] Such a suggestion was made by Jordan, *Kritische Beiträge* 163 ff.

[111] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* IV 113-123.

[112] *Ibid.* 161-162.

crude vases, some of them of Etrusco-Campanian type, a terracotta statue of a child, representations of a child in swaddling clothes, feet, hands, and one or two other representations of parts of the body (a breast and a *membrum virile*). Another cave, the Caverna dell'Acqua, contained a smaller amount of material belonging to the same date, vases, votive feet, and republican lamps. The votive material, Giglioli notes, is very similar to that from the temple of Satricum and from the temples of Falerii ; it is of particular interest to compare it with the votive stips of the cult of Juno Curritis since that also was found in a cave. The cult, Giglioli suggests [113], may be attributed to the nymphs as divinities of health. The attribution is favored by the fact that there seem originally to have been springs in the caves.

FORTUNA IMPERII, MAGNA MATER.

At Vignanello about eight miles northwest of Falerii have been found dedications to Fortuna imperii [114], and Magna Mater [115]. The latter dedication, said to have been found in the ruins of a small shrine [116], was set up by Julia Ammia who seems to have been a daughter of Tigranes, an easterner who was in Rome during the early part of the reign of Augustus and was made by that emperor king of Armenia [117]. The epithet *diacritamena* given to the goddess only in this inscription is to be associated with κριθάμινος, κρίθινος, barley. Cybele is here the goddess who causes barley to grow [118].

LARES COMPITALES, VIALES, SEMITALES.

At Fabbrica was found the following dedication (3079) : voto suscepto Laribus conpitalibus vialibus [s]emitalibus sacrum. This inscription has its closest analogy in three small altars discovered at Rome in 1907, which bear the inscriptions Lares viales, Lares [c]uri[a]les, Lares semitales [119].

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[113] See Giglioli's comments (171-4) following Rellini's discussion "*Cavernette e ripari preistorici nell'agro falisco*", *Mon. Ant.* XXVI (1920) 1-170.

[114] 3075. Fortunae imperi ... aram p[osuit] Selia eaedem (*sic*) dedicavit.

[115] 3080. Ex voto matri deum mag. Diacritamenae [I]ulia Tigranis regis f(ilia) Ammia [a] solo solo fecit idemque dedicavit.

[116] Cf. Garrucci, *Dissertazioni archeologiche* I 36. There are no details preserved about the shrine.

[117] Cf. Gamurrini, *Röm. Mitt.* 1907, 217-224, and the inscription found near Vignanello quoted on page 219, the epitaph of Tyche, a slave girl of Julia Ammia.

[118] Cf. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle, mère des dieux*, 429, note 1.

RIGNANO — FESCENNIUM (?)

The objects found in the tombs at Rignano which date from the eighth century to Roman times have closer analogies with the discoveries of Falerii than with those of the sites in the *ager* of Capena [120]. Since a tomb near Rignano which contained tiles inscribed with Faliscan names in the Faliscan dialect seems to belong to the *ager* of Falerii, the dividing point between the territory of Falerii and Capena has been placed at Rignano by Giglioli who believed that the ancient settlement near the church of S. Abbondio of Rignano belonged to the territory of Capena [121]. But the inscriptions and monuments furnish no evidence as to the *ager* to which Rignano belonged [122]. The inscriptions include several set up by public officials who were perhaps travellers on the Via Flaminia, a fragmentary record of *magistri*, probably of some *pagus* or *vicus* (3931), and an inscription of a *IIII vir quinquennalis* of Falerii (3930) actually found two miles to the south.

It is possible that Rignano was the site of an independent community, perhaps Fescennium, the city near Falerii which is familiar as the place of origin of the Roman marriage songs known as *versus Fescennini* [123]. Except in relation to these ribald verses to which learned commentators attributed great importance for the development of Roman drama, the town is rarely mentioned. Its closeness to Falerii is evident from the references of Dionysius of

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[119] Dessau, 9251, a. b. c. Cf. Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, 134.

[120] E. Gabrici, *Notizie*, 1912, 75 ff.; Herbig, *CIE*. 8429-8448; Buonamici, *Il dialetto Falisco*, 1913.

[121] Giglioli, *Notizie*, 1914, 265.

[122] For efforts to explain the name Rignano see Herbig, *op. cit.* p. 2; Buonamici, *op. cit.* p. 3, n. 4.

[123] Serv. on *Aen.* VII 695; Festus-Paulus, p. 76 L.; Porphyri on Horace, *Ep.* II 1, 145. The derivation of Fescennium from fascinum, also proposed by Paulus l. c., is preferred by Schanz, *Röm. Literaturgeschichte*, 1, 21, but is rejected by most scholars. On these verses see Wissowa, s. v. Fescennini versus, Pauly-Wissowa; Hendrickson, *Am. Journ Philol.* XV (1894) 1-30, XIX (1898) 285-311.

Halicarnassus (I 21) and Solinus (II 7) who attribute the same origin to the two cities. It is further shown by Vergil's famous lines (*Aen.* VII 695-6):

> Hi Fescenninas acies Aequosque Faliscos,
> Hi Soractis habent arces.

According to Dionysius's definite statement (I 21) Fescennium still existed in his day. It is therefore not surprising to find the city mentioned by Pliny (III 51, under the form Fescennia) in his list of Augustan communities. There are no means of identifying the site with any degree of certainty. Among the various settlements in the Ager Faliscus that have been proposed for Fescennium Corchiano has found the greatest favor [124]. Rignano, which has, without adequate grounds, been regarded as belonging to the *ager* of Capena seems the most probable location. Over other sites proposed for Fescennium it possesses the advantage of having evidence for continuous habitation from Etruscan to Roman times. Its accessibility to Rome is moreover another reason in favor of its identification with Fescennium.

Below the church of S. Abbondio can be seen the foundation of an ancient temple, and fragments of wall in the neighborhood are thought to belong to the boundaries of the *area sacra* [125]. There is no evidence as to the identity of the temple.

JUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS.

A dedication was set up by a freedman of Trajan who, since he was a public officer (*a commentariis*), may have been not a permanent resident but a traveller [126].

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

Perhaps one may recognize another traveller in the viator [cos] et pr[*aet.*] Augustalis prim[*us*] who made a dedication to Tiberius in 32-3 (3872). It is noteworthy that Augustalis as the name of an individual is not recorded from Capena, Lucus Feroniae, or Falerii.

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[124] Gamurrini, *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, 1894, 145-149.

[125] See Tomassetti, *op. cit.* III 344.

[126] 3860. Iovi op. max. M. Ulpius Aug. lib. Thaumastus a commentariis operum publicorum et rationis patrimoni d. d.

SILVANUS.

A broad rimmed marble vase made without bottom and probably intended to encase another vessel was discovered here and is now in the Museo delle Terme [127]. On the handles of the vase is the dedication [*Silva*]no sacrum and on the rim the inscription Q. Caecilius Amandus scrib(*a*) libr(arius) q(uaestorius) (trium) dec(uriarum) et Q. Tullius Q. f. Pal. Caecilius Amandus d(onum) d(edit). Of particular interest are the figures in relief on either side between the pine branches and the grape vine that surround the vase. On one side is a goat devouring a sheep, on the other a figure of Pan holding a goat by the horn with his left hand, and threatening a wolf with his shepherds' crook which he has uplifted in his right hand. Paribeni notes that this representation accords well with the ancient belief that the name of Pan's or Faunus's priests, the Luperci, was derived from *lupus* and *arcere*, an etymology which Deubner has recently revived [128].

IMPORTANT PAGAN EPITAPH.

A marble cippus in the church of S. Abbondio of Rignano bears the following inscription (3963): C. Clodio Fabato marito optimo Atilia Marcella.

> Terrenum corpus caelestis spiritus in me
> Quo repetente suam sedem nunc vivimus illic
> Et fruitur superis aeterna in luce Fabatus [129].

On a first reading this epitaph seems to be Christian, but, as De Rossi has pointed out, it lacks the customary terminology of Christian epitaphs. Moreover abundant parallels on undoubted pagan monuments for such an expression of confidence in the future life make it probable that this is a pagan inscription [130].

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[127] 7764. The vase has been published by Héron de Villefosse, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1912, 335 ff.; Paribeni, *Bollettino d'Arte* VII (1913) 164 ff. Paribeni has suggested that the vase was intended simply as a vessel through which libations might be poured.

[128] Deubner, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* XIII (1910), 481 ff.

[129] Buecheler, *Carmina Epigraphica* No. 591. De Rossi, *Bull. di arch. crist.* 1883, 133, says that these three hexameters are found at Niebla in Spain on a stone of which he had a cast. He believed the inscription to be genuine. I find no note of it in *CIL.* II either among the genuine or among the forged inscriptions.

CHRISTIANITY.

Beneath the small modern chapel dei santi martiri in Rignano there is an extensive underground cemetery containing inscriptions many of which bear consular dates ranging from 344 to 424 (4028-4075). Some of the undated inscriptions seem to go back to the beginning of the fourth century [131]. There is little reason to doubt that this cemetery was the burial place of the saints Abundius and Abundantius. The only evidence for the lives of these saints whose names do not occur originally in the martyrologies is found in their *passio*, a document written before 1001 which records their martyrdom in the persecutions of Diocletian in 303 [132]. They were said to have been beheaded at the 10th milestone of the Flaminian Way and to have been interred by a certain matron Theodora *in praedio suo milia ab urbe Roma XXVIII.* The actual distance of Rignano from Rome is twenty six miles, but the existence there of the church of S. Abbondio can leave no doubt as to the association of the martyrs with the town. To the edition of the *passio* published in 1504 is affixed an account *ex codici Ariniano* of the discovery of the bodies of the saints and of Theodora in the church of *S. Abundio* in 1001, and of their transference by the emperor Otho III to Rome where they were placed with the other sacred relics which the emperor obtained for the church of S. Adalbert on the island of the Tiber. De Rossi has shown that the statement in this document that the bodies were found in the titulary church is probably erroneous ; they could hardly have been moved from their original burial place which is to be identified with a fair degree of certainty with the so-called cemetery of Theodora [133].

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[130] Cf. for example Buecheler, *op. cit.* Nos.86, 1465, 1143, 1559, 1443.

[131] See De Rossi's discussion, *Bull. di Arch. Crist.* 1883, 134-159.

[132] Sanctorum martyrum Abundii presbyteri, Abundantii Diaconi, Marciani et Ioannis eius filii passio . .. Romae 1584. De Rossi, l. c. 135. Cf. Acta Sanctorum for September 16.

[133] See also De Rossi's discussion, l. c. 151 ff. of the inscription in the Lateran, Abundio pbr. martyri sanct. dep. VII idus Dec. which he believes came from this cemetery.

4. OTHER SETTLEMENTS OF SOUTHEASTERN ETRURIA.

NEPET.

Prior to the Gallic catastrophe the history of Nepet is recorded only in the monuments of the necropolis which have their closest analogy in the territory of Falerii. The tombs show that the site was inhabited as early as the eighth century. The discoveries, which include some remarkably fine examples of Attic Black and Red figured ware, indicate the existence of a flourishing city[1].

In history Nepet is usually associated with the neighboring Sutrium though, unlike the latter place, it is omitted in Diodorus's chronicles. The first appearance of the two cities is in the year 386 B. C. of the Varronian chronology when they appealed, evidently as acknowledged allies of Rome, for aid against the Etruscans[2]. Livy speaks of them at the time as *loca opposita Etruriae et velut claustra inde portaeque*. In driving the Etruscans out greater difficulties were encountered at Nepet than at Sutrium, for some of the citizens of the former city had betrayed it to the Etruscans. This report of Etruscan sympathizers at Nepet accords with the geographical position of the two towns in leading one to believe that the alliance of Sutrium and Nepet with Rome dated only from the fall of Veii, at which time the conquest of Capena and the temporary subjection of Falerii were brought about [3]. It was doubtless to make sure of the alliance with Sutrium and Nepet that the Romans, five year after the events recorded above, established Latin colonies at the two cities [4] — a course which they might have hesitated to adopt with reference to the more powerful neighbouring towns. For almost a century Sutrium and Nepet were the great Roman outposts against the Etruscans. During the Second Punic War Nepet is mentioned among the Latin colonies that declined to take their share of the burdens of war and were consequently penalized by Rome (Livy XXVII 9; XXIX 15). Except for a few insignificant literary references the inscriptions, which indicate a flourishing municipality in imperial times, form the only other record of the town.

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[1] Cf. Stefani, *Notizie* 1910, 199-222; Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia* 106-109.

[2] Livy VI 9. See discussion of Sutrium. Earlier than this there is an incidental allusion to the *ager Nepesinus* in Livy V 19, 7.

DIANA.

Evidence for the worship of Diana at Nepet is found in the title of the *iuvenes* who were there known as *iuvenes Nepesini Dianenses* (3210). Elsewhere the *iuvenes*, an association made up of the most aristocratic youths of the community, were sometimes associated with prominent municipal cults [5]. Thus at Tibur and at Fabrateria vetus they were called *Herculanii* and at Lanuvium they were connected with the ancient *sacra Lanuvina.*

It is therefore probable that Diana's cult was very prominent at Nepet; on the other hand it is possible that the form *Dianensis* is simply an indication of locality. In any case it provides evidence for a shrine. Further evidence for her worship is obtained from a private dedication in which the goddess's epithet *compotens* is an ἅπαξ λεγόμενον [6].

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[3] It is perhaps worth noting that, when Nepet became a full municipality (probably not until after the Social War), it was assigned to the *Stellatina* tribe in which a part of the *ager* of Capena was incorporated early in the 4th century B. C. and to which Capena ultimately belonged. This fact may indicate a close relationship that is favored by the geographical position of the two towns.

[4] Livy VI 21. Velleius's statement (I 14, 2) that Nepet was not colonized until ten years later is probably mistaken. Cf. Bormann, *CIL*. XI p. 481; Kornemann s. v. *coloniae*, Pauly-Wissowa, 515.

[5] See Rostowzew, *Römische Bleitesserae, Klio, Beiheft* (1905) 80, 87. Cf. also the inscription 3215 for the *iuvenes* at Nepet and see, on the magistrates of the inscription, Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, 93ff.

[6] 3198, Compotenti Dianae Mummeius Atticus et Mummeia Felicia d. d.

NEPTUNUS.

There is no actual evidence for the cult of Neptune at Nepet, but it has been suggested that the god's name may be related in origin to the name of the city [7].

CERES.

Ceres was worshipped as the protecting divinity of a *pagus* within the ager of Nepet where the *magister pagi* and a *magistra*, apparently his daughter, celebrated the Cerialia on April 19, 18 A. D. [8] On the inscription recording the festival are said to have been reliefs appropriate to the cult of Ceres, representing ears of corn, lighted torches or candelabra, and a sacrificial victim [9]. With this inscription was probably found another dedication to Ceres frugif(era) [10]. It may be significant for the date of this dedication that the epithet *frugifera* is elsewhere applied to Ceres only on the coins of Septimius Severus, Caracalla, and Julia Domna [11]. Both inscriptions attest the familiar association of Ceres with the imperial cult.

FERONIA.

Five altars were set up to Feronia by a slave of the emperor Claudius who styles himself *magister* [12]. From the statement of Fulvio Orsini that this inscription was found *sub Soracte monte*, the dedication has been associated with the great shrine of the goddess near Capena. But since, in the slightly earlier citations of the inscription made by Accursius and Orsini, no such statement occurs, one would hesitate to accept without question Orsini's statement, which may have been influenced by his knowledge of the cult of Feronia near Soracte.

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[7] See Thulin, *Die Götter des Martianus Capella, etc.* 26, note 3.

[8] Elsewhere the celebration of the Cerialia is recorded only in *CIL.* VI 508 and in the *Fasti.*

[9] 3196. Cereri August. matri agr. L. Bennius Primus mag. pagi Bennia Primigenia magistra fecer. Germanico Caesare II L. Seio Tuberone cos. dies sacrificii XIII K. Mai. Since the inscription rests only on manuscript authority, Dessau (3335) emends the title *mater agr(orum)*, which occurs here only, to read *mater [s]a[c]r*.

[10] 3197. Cereri frugif(erae) sacr(um) L. Veianus Cosmus p. p.

[11] Cf. Pestalozzi and Chiesa, s. v. Ceres, Ruggiero.

[12] 3199. Hermeros Ti. Claudii Caesaris Aug. Germanici ser. Thyamidianus ab marmorib. magister Feroniae aras quinque d. s. d. d. Dessau (3481) thinks the slave was *magister* of some *collegium*.

Feronia might also have been worshipped at Nepet, a town which must have had close relations with the territory of Capena.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

The inscriptions of Nepet provide particularly important evidence for the semi-magisterial freedman priesthoods represented by the titles *Augustalis* and *magister Augustalis*. The earliest known record of *magistri Augustales* is a dedication to Augustus made by officials of Nepet holding this title [13]. I have elsewhere tried to show that this document of the year 13-12 B. C. recording the first *magistri Augustales* to hold office in Nepet is to be associated not with the *Augustales* but with the *vicorum magistri* whom Augustus put in charge of the cult of the Lares Compitales [14]. This cult did not receive its final organization until the division of Rome into fourteen regions was accomplished in 7 B. C. [15], the date from which the *magistri* of most of the *vici* in Rome counted their years of service. But the institution was known as early as the date of this inscription from Nepet, for one *vicus* in Rome counted its years of service from 12 B. C., and Horace, writing not later than 13 B. C., referred to the association of the Emperor's name with the Lares (*C.* IV 5, 34-5, *et Laribus tuum miscet nomen*). The custom of placing the statue of the Emperor's genius between the Lares who were worshipped at the *Compitalia* must already have begun [16], and in this inscription from Nepet, significantly a dedication to the Emperor, we have the earliest example of the officials later known as *vicorum magistri* who were in charge of this form of emperor worship [17].

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[13] 3200. Imp. Caesari divi f. Augusto pontif. maxim. cos. XI tribunic. potestat. XI magistri Augustales prim(i) Philippus Augusti libert. M. Aebutius Secundus M. Gallius Anchiarius P. Fidustius Antigonus.

[14] *Transactions of the Am. Phil. Assoc.* XLV (1914) 235-237; see discussion of Falerii.

[15] Cf. Cassius Dio LV 8; Mommsen, *Hermes* XV (1880) 109.

[16] Cf. Wissowa 172-3 and s. v. Lares, Roscher 1880.

[17] Aside from the striking correspondence in date between the inscription of Nepet and the earliest monument of the *vicorum magistri* at Rome, the following are briefly my reasons, set forth in detail in the paper referred to, for identifying *magistri Augustales* in many cases with the *vicorum magistri*: 1) the fact that both offices were composed of groups of four men, usually of the freedman class; 2) the custom, frequent in the case of the *vicorum magistri* and occurring here and in one other case among the

Augustalis Nepete as the title for the freedman priests of the imperial cult is attested twice for individuals (3213, 3214). Two other inscriptions mention the *Augustales* with the *plebs* and *decuriones* as an intermediate body in the municipality (3206, 3211, cf. 3219, 3220), and one of these inscriptions, set up by a freedman of the emperor Trajan (3206), is among the earliest records of the sort in existence. The position of the *Augustales* as a body that held a place in the communities of Italy corresponding closely to the *equites* at Rome did not develop until the time of Trajan [18].

The association of the cult of Ceres at Nepet with the imperial house has been discussed above.

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

Two *pontifices* of Nepet, one of whom received signal honors from the community, are mentioned in inscriptions (3211, 3218).

CHRISTIANITY.

The *Acta Sanctorum* mention, under August 24, the martyrdom there of two saints, Ptolomaeus and Romanus, of whom the former was a disciple of St. Peter.

HORTA.

The settlement on the Tiber at the site of modern Orte is rarely mentioned and the form of its name is uncertain. The community belonged to the *Stellatina* tribe. There is only one dedication attesting a cult.

PATER TIBERINUS.

It was fitting that an altar should have been erected in this Tiber town to this divinity who was honored also at Rome (*CIL.* VI 773),

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magistri Augustales, of recording the number of years since the first *magistri* were appointed in the *vicus* ; 3) the fact that among the few existing inscriptions of *magistri Augustales* one is a dedication to the Lares Augusti and three are to Augustus ; 4) the statement of the scholiasts on Horace, *Sat.* II 3, 281 that the *Augustales* were instituted to take charge of the cult of the Lares Compitales — impossible for the *Augustales*, but perhaps true for the *magistri Augustales*.

[18] Cf. *Tr. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XLV 242-244.

Ostia (XIV 376), and Tuder (XI 4644). Yet the altar was erected not by a native but by a Roman [19].

LACUS VADIMONIS.

Near Horta lay the Lacus Vadimonis, a site famous as the scene of two great Etruscan defeats in 308 and 283. The lake's name, it has been suggested (Nissen 342), may have been derived from a god's name. Certainly the sulphurous waters, now only a swamp overgrown with reeds, were in antiquity believed to be sacred, and no vessels might be launched upon them (Pliny, *Ep.* VIII 20). But in place of boats, according to a famous description by the younger Pliny, islands floated about in the sea. These floating islands, which were nothing more than masses of reeds and other plants, with bits of sulphur that moved in the heavy waters, are several times mentioned in antiquity [20]. We know nothing of the deity to whom the lake was sacred, but the cult may well have been chthonic.

PAGUS STELLATINUS.

Although the suggestion has often been made that the name of the town Soriano is derived from a settlement of the Sorrinenses, it is probable that the ancient settlement at Soriano was known as Pagus Stellatinus. In the year 4-3 B. C. two *ingenui*, who are *magistri iterum pagi Stellatini*, set up a dedication to Augustus and his two grandsons, Gaius and Lucius (3040). The inscription further states that the two men erected from their own funds a shrine and statues (*aedem et signa de sua pecunia facienda curarunt*).

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

The shrine mentioned above, with statues of Augustus and his two grandsons, was probably sacred to the Genius of the Emperor. It will be remembered that from 12 B. C. the Emperor's Genius began to be worshipped in the shrines of the Lares Compitales. There was doubtless a similar worship in the *pagi*. It was natural to include with Augustus's statue representations of his grandsons, who were already designated for the succession. An unpublished altar in the garden of Prince Chigi's palace at Soriano, of which Professor Franz Cumont told me, has on it a representation in relief of a sacrificial scene, of the Lares, and of a civic crown. It seems to be a monument of the Lares Augusti. Through Professor Cumont's courtesy I hope soon to publish the altar.

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[19] 3057. Sex. Atusius Sex. fil. Fabia Roma Priscus evoc. Aug. primus omnium aram Tiberino posuit quam caligatus voverat.

[20] Pliny *l. c.*; Pliny the elder, *N. H.* II 209 ; Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* III 25, 8.

MITHRAS.

A fine Mithraic bas-relief found in this region is in the possession of Sig. Fontana, Director of Prince Chigi's palace. Of this also Professor Cumont informed me.

CHRISTIANITY.

An inscription of the cemetery of St. Eutychius here has the consular date 359 (3054).

SORRINENSES — VITERBO.

Viterbo (*vetus urbs*), a city whose name, first known, like Orvieto's of similar origin, at the end of antiquity, seems to indicate the existence of an earlier city, has been the metropolis of its region in mediaeval and modern times. In the Etruscan period, if we can judge from the neighboring tombs, notably those of Castel d'Asso five miles away (Dennis I ch. XVI), the region was well populated. Etruscan inscriptions indicate the existence in this region of a town, the citizens of which seem to have held office in the Etruscan league [21]. In Roman times the chief importance of the site was perhaps derived from the sulphur springs a mile away, at which remains of Roman baths have been found. Yet there was, approximately on the site of Viterbo, a Roman community whose inhabitants are mentioned in inscriptions, twice as Sorrinenses (3010, 3012), and twice as Sorrinenses Novenses (3009, 3014) [22]. The latter title may indicate some such combination of two communities as existed at Clusium and Arretium, and the Vetus Urbs may have acquired its name because it was the residence of the Sorrinenses veteres.

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[21] See Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker* 51ff.

[22] Σούδερνον of Ptolemy III 1, 43 is perhaps the same city.

BONA DEA.

Perhaps from this community comes a dedication to the goddess (2996) : Bonae deae Aug(ustae) Valeria Victoria d(onum) d(edit).

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

There is one record of an Augustalis Surrinensium (3012).

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

A pontif(ex) iur(e) dic(undo) Sorr(inensium) No(vensium) is recorded in 3009.

CHRISTIANITY.

Two saints, Valentinus, Presbyter, and Hilarius, Deacon, both from Viterbo, are mentioned in the Martyrology ; both are said to have been beheaded, presumably at Rome, about 303[23].

FERENTUM.

As is shown by the remains of a necropolis where the discoveries include Black figured Attic ware and later Italic imitations of Greek pottery[24], an Etruscan town existed on this site[25]. The Roman town, (the form of the name is uncertain) is known from its splendidly preserved theatre, the remains of baths, and a number of inscriptions, to which recent excavations have added[26]. These recent discoveries have proved conclusively that the community belonged to the *Stellatina* tribe[27] — a fact which perhaps gives reason to assign it with Toscana originally to the territory of Tarquinii. The emperor Otho was a native of the town (Suet. *Otho* 1).

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[23] Bracco, *Martyrologium Romanum*, Nov. 3 where the *Acta* of the church of Viterbo, which preserves their heads, are referred to.

[24] *Notizie* 1902, 84-94 ; 1905, 31-37.

[25] Nissen 341 ; Dennis I ch. XIII.

[26] Cf. Milani, *Notizie* 1908, 373-381 ; Galli, *Notizie* 1911, 22-35 ; Zei, *Notizie* 1922, 215-228.

[27] Bormann conjectured, *CIL.* XI p. 454, that the town belonged to this ward. The inscriptions of the site he has included under the *Ager Viterbiensis* with the inscriptions of the Sorrinenses. The following inscriptions seem to belong to Ferentum ; 3011, 3028, 3032, all found there ; 2998, 3008, 3024, 3025, all of which are at Monte Fiascone ; 3013, at Celleni ; 2997.

MARS.

A dedication, found on a slab that was used in repairing the baths, belongs probably to a statue of the god. Since it was set up by a *IIIIvir aedilis pro ludis* and in accordance with the decree of the municipal senate, it seems to represent an official cult [28].

FORTUNA.

The obviously corrupt *Frentano in oppido* of Tacitus, Annals XV 53, probably refers either to this town or to Ferentinum in the Hernican territory, more likely the latter. This phrase is the only evidence for the location of the temple of Fortuna from which the dagger was taken for the conspiracy of Piso against Nero in 65. A late dedication to Fortuna Sancta seems to come from Ferentum [29].

AESCULAPIUS.

A fragmentary inscription seems to record an [*Ara*]m Aescu[*lapio*] (*Notizie* 1919, 281).

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

A forum, an *Augusteum* with fifty-seven statues, and surrounding porticoes, pools and drains were built on private land at Ferentum by a man who had served as *accensus* to Germanicus as consul [30]. The inscription recording them very likely belongs to the reign of Tiberius.

A dedication (now at Monte Fiascone) to the Lares Augusti, set up by two men who belong to the *Stellatina* ward, must also come from Ferentum [31]. With this worship too is to be connected the *ac-*

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[28] 7413, *Notizie* 1908, 380. Marti Aug. T. Rufilius Priscus IIII vir aedil. ex d. d. pro ludis sua pecun. posuit.

[29] 2997. Fortune sancte pro salutem [R]ufiorum Festi et Marcellini et Proculi (clarissimi viri) Antigonus ser(vus) a[c]t[or] cum s(uis). For another possible allusion to the cult of Fortuna here see the letters *Fort* in the inscription quoted in *Notizie*, 1919, 282.

[30] 7431, *Notizie* 1911, 23. Sex. Hortensius A. F. Stel. Sex. Hortensius Clarus mag. Lar(um) accensus (two letters *ra* in later addition) Germanici Caesaris co[n]s(ulis) forum et Augusteum cum statuis LVII circa porticus et lacus et cloacas solo privato s. p. f. c. idem dedic(avit) crustulum et epul(um) dedit. Germanicus's first consulship was in 12 A. D.

[31] 2998. [*Lar*]ibus Augustis sacrum... cius C. f. Ste. Quadratus L. A... rius L. f. Ste. Clemens s. p. f. curaverunt idemque dedicaverunt et ob dedicationem vicanis epulum dederunt.

census of Germanicus, referred to above, who bears the title *mag*(*ister*) *Lar*(*um*). The fact that the office is held by an *ingenuus* is probably due to the early date of the inscription. Later the *magistri Larum* were regularly freedmen.

SUTRIUM.

Numerous chamber tombs hewn in the rock attest the antiquity of the site, but, since they were rifled in antiquity, the more precise information that might be secured from their contents is lacking [32]. Scientific excavations have not yet been made in the necropolis. The first mention of the city in history is a reference in Diodorus (XIV 98) to its siege by the Romans four years before the Gallic catastrophe. Doubtless it had previously been, like the neighboring Nepet, an ally of Falerii and Veii against the Romans.

Just after the sack of Rome by the Gauls, Sutrium appears, according to Diodorus, as a colony, and, in Livy, as an ally of Rome, begging for aid against an Etruscan army that was attacking it [33]. On this occasion Camillus is said to have recaptured the city on the very day that it had surrendered to the Etruscans. There is a suspicious repetition in the tradition, preserved only by Livy, that Camillus wrested Sutrium from the Etruscans a second time three years later [34]. The story of its third rescue from the besieging Etruscans in 310 deserves more confidence [35]. Sutrium and Nepet were the most advanced outposts of Rome against the Etruscans — loca opposita Etruriae et velut claustra inde portaeque, as Livy calls them[36]. Sutrium, particularly, because of its important situation on the line of communication represented by the later Via Cassia, which led into the heart of Etruria, remained Rome's most advanced station until after the wars of the year 310 and following, when the Roman frontier was moved further north[37]. It is not strange that the town's allegiance was early secured by the establishment of a Latin colony. According to Diodorus, as has been said, this had already taken place in 387, but Velleius places its colonization in 383[38]. It is possible that there were two colonizations. [39].

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[32] Cf. Dennis I 62-81. On Sutrium in general see Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana* III 172-197.

[33] Diodorus XIV 117; Livy VI 3; Plutarch, *Camillus* 33, 35; *Elog. Camill. CIL.* I. 1^2 p. 191 VII.

[34] Livy VI 9. Cf. discussion of Nepet.

[35] Diodorus XX 35; Livy IX 32, 33, 35.

[36] Livy VI 9; cf. IX 32 where Livy speaks of Sutrium as *velut claustra Etruriae*.

Sutrium was one of the nine colonies that had to pay the penalty for refusing to bear its allotted military burdens during the Hannibalic War. In 90 B. C. if not earlier, it must by the terms of the *lex Iulia* have become a municipality. Later it seems to have been colonized by the triumvirs.

The continued importance of Sutrium in imperial times is attested by inscriptions and references in the geographers as well as by its excellently preserved amphitheatre, the chief ancient monument that has survived. Either a pagan temple or a basilica originally stood on the site of the cathedral of Sutrium. Sixteen columns of Lunar marble from this ancient building were either destroyed or walled up in the pilasters of the cathedral during restorations made in the eighteenth century, but two of them were uncovered in 1890.

HOSTIA.

The goddess Hostia, whose worship was peculiar to Sutrium, was probably one of the most important divinities of the city. The evidence for her cult comes not from inscriptions but solely from a reference to her by Tertullian in the famous passage in which he points out how every province and every city is allowed to worship its own god[40]. Like various other divinities whom Tertullian mentions in this list (Schulze 123) Hostia is obviously the divinity of a *gens* — in this case the Hostii, a family which was important at Capua and is recorded on inscriptions of Latium and Campania [41]. Schulze associates it with the name Hustna which occurs in the Etruscan inscriptions of Perusia [42].

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[37] It was apparently the military importance of the site, to which the Roman legions had often to repair on short notice, that gave rise to the proverbial expression *Sutrium ire* which is found in Plautus, *Casina* 524, and is explained in a rather confused manner by Festus, p. 406 L.

[38] Diodorus XIV 117; Vell. I 14.

[39] Cf. Nissen 355; Kornemann, s. v. *coloniae*, Pauly-Wissowa 526; Bormann, *CIL.* XI p. 489.

[40] Tertullian, *Apol.* XXIV. Romanas ut opinor provincias edidi, nec tamen Romanos deos earum, quia Romae non magis coluntur quam qui per ipsam quoque Italiam municipali consecratione censentur: Casiniensium Delventinus, Narniensium Visidianus, Aesculanorum Ancharia, Volsiniensium Nortia, Ocriculanonum Valentia, Sutrinorum Hostia, Faliscorum in honorem patris Curris et accepit cognomen Juno. Instead of Hostia some of the manuscripts read Nortia.

IUPPITER IUVENTUS.

Jupiter's *cognomen* Iuventus in a dedication from Sutrium[43], though attested for the god in only one other inscription (*CIL.* IX 5574), is readily explained with reference to the sacrifice to Jupiter in the Capitoline temple required of every Roman boy on the day that he assumed the *toga virilis* [44]. With this sacrifice is connected the cult of Iuventas, a goddess who had a shrine in the *cella* of Minerva in the Capitolium and was reputed to have had a cult on the spot before the foundation of the temple. She is rather to be regarded as a development of the ancient conception of Jupiter indicated by the sacrifice mentioned.

DIESPITER.

The following inscription on a small round marble vase remains an unsolved puzzle (3259) : D. M. Prastinae Frontonis scribae aedil. Diespitris. Diespiter is simply an etymologically related name for Jupiter and indicates no distinct cult (Wissowa 113). The name is frequent in poetry and occurs instead of Jupiter in Paulus's wording of the fetial formula (Festus p. 102 L.). In inscriptions it is found once only in the form Diesptr along with Fercle and Juno on a Praenestine *cista* (*CIL* XIV 4106).

DIANA.

The goddess is represented by a dedication that gives no information as to her cult [45].

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[41] Cf. Münzer s. v. Hostius, Pauly-Wissowa ; Indices to *CIL.* X and XIV.

[42] On Hostia cf. also Deeke, s. v. Hostia and Horta, Roscher. The identity of Hostia and Horta is very unlikely.

[43] 3245. Iovi Iuventuti sacrum Cn. Domitius Afri libert. Ingenuus accensus.

[44] Wissowa 135 ; cf. s. v. Iuventas, Roscher ; Aust, s. v. Iuppiter, Roscher 667.

[45] 3244. Dianae sacr. M. Valerius Restitutus... Bormann notes that the dedicant may be identical with the Marcus Valerius Restitutus recorded in 3255 as *pontifex*.

NYMPHAE.

The following inscription is found on a pedestal on which may still be seen the traces of three feet belonging to the statues of the nymphs which stood on it (3247) : Q. Hortensius Hymnus Nymphis divinis v(otum) s(olvit) compote factus l(ibens) a(nimo) et Cascellia Arethusa permissu T. Latini Pandusae. Here, as often in *pro salute* and *ex voto* inscriptions, the Nymphs, always water spirits among the Romans, are regarded as healing powers [46].

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

Two inscriptions, both of which probably belong to the second century, record the *Augustales* with the *decuriones* and *populus* as the dedicators of honorary inscriptions (3256, 3258).

ISIS.

The epithets *Regina* and *triumphalis*, both of which are applied to Isis, make it practically certain that the following inscription is to be attributed not to Bona Dea but to Isis [47] (3243) : D. Rupilius L. O.... Bonae Deae Regi[*nae*] triumphali (votum) s(olvit) l(ibens) [m(erito)].

MITHRAS.

A Mithraic bas-relief representing the god in the act of killing the bull was found at Sutrium. It is now in the Museo delle Terme at Rome [48]. The form of the extraordinary little rock cut church of the Madonna del Parto outside the walls near the Amphitheatre of Sutri bears a remarkable resemblance to a *Mithreum*. Its central nave has on either side of it benches that lead up to the higher level of the side aisles which are separated from the central aisle by pillars hewn in the rock[49].

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[46] Cf. Bloch, s. v. Nymphae, Roscher 512, 540 ff. See Dessau, 3865, 3867, 3871, 3872, 3879-3881. Cf. discussion of the Aquae at Vicarello.

[47] For Isis Regina cf. Dessau 2218, 4355, 4356, 4357, 4368, 4380, 6487 ; for triumphalis, 4360. The suggestion that the inscription belonged to the cult of Isis was first made by Zangemeister, *Bull. dell'Inst.* 1864 p. 108. Cf. Bormann's comment on the inscription and Wissowa s. v. Bona Dea, Pauly-Wissowa, 692.

[48] Paribeni, *Il Museo Nazionale Romano* (1920) p. 95.

Official Priests.

The most important religious document of Sutrium is a fragmentary marble tablet (3254), bearing the title *pontifices a colonia coniunc(ta) Iulia Sutrin(a) in ord(inem) relat[i]*. Beneath are three columns of names broken off without any indication to show how much of the tablet has perished. The first column contains eighteen names of *pontifices*, all of whom seem to have been chosen immediately on the foundation of the colony[50]. The absence of *cognomina* in the case of seven of the names accords well with the early Augustan period when the colony was founded. In the second and third column occur eighteen names of pontifices accompanied by seventeen names (one is erased) of the former priests in whose places they were elected. A considerable portion of the tablet must have perished, for of the seventeen names of men in whose places new *pontifices* were chosen, the original election of five only, is recorded. The majority of these elections must have been listed in the portion of the first column that has perished. The document does not cover a protracted period of time, for, although all the *pontifices* in the third column have *cognomina*, several were chosen in place of men whose names are in the early form. The large number of the *pontifices* — in any case over eighteen — is unparalleled in other municipalities. The constitution of the *Colonia Genetiva* in Spain, founded shortly before the colony at Sutrium, provides for three only and the colony projected at Capua in 63 was to have had six *pontifices*[51]. A fragment containing only two names apparently belongs to a similar list of much later date[52]. There is also an honorary inscription to a *pontifex* of Sutrium who had held the most important offices of the community (3261).

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[49] Plans, a description, and a photograph of the church have been published by Frothingham, *Am. Jour. Arch.* V (1889) 320-30, Pl. X.

[50] See Bormann's notes. This is a natural inference from the fact that two names in the first column are followed by the letter p, that is p(ater); in one case the name of the son occurs beneath; in the other it is omitted.

[51] *Lex Col. Gen.* LXVII; Cicero *De leg. agr.* II 96.

[52] 3255. Pontifices... M. Valerius Restitutus in loc. C. Lolli Callidi.

An *augur* who was also aedile and *pr*(*aetor*) *iuv*(*enum*) is recorded on another stone (3256).

CHRISTIANITY.

This town is named in the Martyrology in connection with two martyrs. One of them, S. Romulus, mentioned under July 6, was a native of Falerii ; he was said to have been a disciple of Peter and he was put to death at Faesulae after having preached at Sutrium and various other Tuscan cities. The other, Felix, a martyr of Falerii, put to death on June 23, 257, was buried by a certain deacon Irenaeus near the walls of Sutrium.

TERRITORY OF SUTRIUM.

MINERVA.

The following dedication, set up probably by the *magister* of some *pagus*, occurs on a small stone of peperino which was discovered five miles south of Sutrium (3246) : l(ibens) l(aeta) Servilia Felix magistra donu(m) Minervae dat.

VICUS MATRINI.

This settlement, mentioned only in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, is identified with the site known as Le Capraniccie by means of the epitaph of the Matrinii discovered there (3331).

STATA AUGUSTA.

The native Italic goddess Stata Mater, to whom the power of stopping conflagrations was ascribed, was worshipped here[53]. This goddess gave her name to two *vici* in Rome, where the crowded building conditions made her cult easily understandable[54]. Elsewhere her cult is known near Aequiculi, in Achaia, and in Dalmatia[55].

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[53] 3321. Statae Augustae matri sacrum Opicernia Q. l. Acris posuit.

[54] Gatti, *Bull. com.* XXXIV (1906) 186 ff ; *CIL.* VI 975.

[55] Cf. Wissowa, 230, notes 5 and 6 ; Höfer s. v. Stata, Roscher.

MITHRAS.

Here also was discovered a very simple Mithraic relief representing the familiar scene of Mithras sacrificing the bull. Of the symbols common in such reliefs only the serpent and the cancer are found. The inscription reads (3320) : L. Avillius Rufinus posuit[56].

FORUM CASSI.

This station on the Via Cassia is known only from the itineraries. Perhaps from here came a private dedication to SILVANUS now in Vetralla two miles distant (7560) : Sancto Silvano cusstodi L. Pomponius Romanus.

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[56] See Bormann's description *CIL* XI 3320.

5. CAERE AND ITS PORTS.

An unquestioned place among the twelve cities of Etruria is to be assigned to Caere or Agylla, as the city was called by the Greeks, one of the greatest centres of Etruscan trade. It lay four miles from the coast and had the use of the two harbors, Alsium and Pyrgi, both of which owe their names to Greek traders [1]. The city itself was reputed to have been a Pelasgian settlement [2]. Its earliest necropolis has not been scientifically excavated [3]. The richness of Caere's imports in the seventh century is abundantly attested by the splendid objects of gold, bronze, and ivory found in the Regulini Galassi tomb [4]. The city appears first in authentic historical tradition in Herodotus's account of the successful naval attack made in 540 by the allied forces of Carthaginians and Etruscans against the Phocaean colony Alalia on the island of Corsica [5]. On this occasion Caere's cruelty in stoning to death the prisoners that fell to her lot led to a pestilence against which the people had recourse to the oracle of Delphi. They were commanded to expiate their action by sacrifices to the dead and by games. From this period perhaps dates the treasury of the Caerites which Strabo (V 2, 3) says existed at Delphi. The Caerites had the unique reputation among the Greeks of not indulging in piracy [6]. The rich temple of Leukothea that existed at Caere's port Pyrgi was plundered by Dionysius of Syracuse in 384 B. C. (Diodorus XV 14).

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[1] Punicum, a third settlement near Caere, has often been thought to be a centre of Carthaginian trade, but it is more probably, as Nissen (59) has shown, simply the name of a wayside inn.

[2] Strabo V 2, 3 ; Dionys. I 20, III 58 ; Vergil, *Aen.* VIII 597 ff. ; Pliny *N. H.* III 51.

[3] Cf. Undset, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1885, 32-33.

[4] See Pinza, *La Tomba Regulini Galassi, Röm. Mitt.* XXII (1907) 35-186 ; *Materiali per la Etnologia toscano-laziale, passim.*

[5] Herodotus, I 167. See Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II 709.

In early Roman tradition Caere appears as the domain of the usurper Mezentius, one of the bitterest foes of the Trojans [7]. During the regal period various wars with the city are recorded. Thither, according to Livy, Tarquinius Superbus and his two sons are said to have fled after they were driven from Rome (Livy I 60) ; with their descendants has often been associated the famous tomb of Caere on the walls of which are inscribed thirty-one times the Etruscan form Tarchnas and four times the Latin Tarquinius [8]. But the connection cannot be pressed too closely, for the name occurs in many other parts of Etruria (Schulze 95-6), and tradition does not mention Caere with the other Etruscan cities which attempted to restore the Tarquins to Rome (Livy II 2 ff). Indeed Caere seems to have been peculiarly friendly to Rome during the early Republic. There the Flamen Quirinalis and the Vestal Virgins took refuge with the sacred objects when the Gauls were approaching Rome [9]. In consideration of the service of the Caerites at this time, a treaty of friendship was struck between Caere and Rome (Livy V 50).

In 353 the Caerites joined the Tarquinienses against Rome (Livy VII 19). They were easily subdued and, out of gratitude, Livy thinks, for their services in the Gallic wars, were spared the ravages of war and granted a peace for a hundred years. Long before this truce had expired Caere was incorporated in Roman territory with half rights. Later, whether correctly or not, Caere was regarded as the earliest city of this type ; certainly she headed a group of cities of this class in the definitions of rights known as the *tabulae Caeritum* [10]. The date of Caere's incorporation is probably to be placed before the Etruscan war of 311-308 in which the city seems to have had no part. At that time, according to some of Livy's sources (IX 36),

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[6] Strabo V 2, 3, but cf. Servius on *Aeneid* X 184, as to the pirates of Pyrgi.

[7] Livy I 2 ; Verg. *Aen.* VII 648, VIII 481.

[8] Dennis I 242-245 ; Nissen 348. On the name forms see Schulze 95-6.

[9] Livy V 50, 3 ; Val. Max. I 1, 10.

[10] Gellius XVI 13, 7 ; Horace, *Ep.* I 6, 62 and scholiasts ; Strabo V 2, 3. A summary of the very confusing evidence will be found in Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, III 572, n. 3.

Roman boys of aristocratic families were sometimes sent to Caere *apud hospites* to learn Etruscan. In 302 Caerites were serving as interpreters in the Roman army (Livy X 4)[11]. Caere was probably the only one of the Etruscan cities contributing to Scipio's equipment in 205 for which Livy's designation *socius* is incorrect (Livy XXVIII 45). Like the other cities with half rights, she was probably admitted to full citizenship prior to the Social War. Even in imperial times she retained her distinctive form of magistracy, with a dictator at the head of the municipality (3593, 3614, 3615). In this single chief magistrate and in the peculiar office of *censor perpetuus*, known only at Caere, there is perhaps a survival of Etruscan city-government.

Prodigia are frequently recorded from Caere by Livy and Obsequens. But the city seems speedily to have declined in importance. In Strabo's time it was more sparsely populated than the settlement about the warm baths six miles away. The municipality of which the inscriptions and monuments give evidence, though not inconsiderable, could have had little in common with the glories of the past.

In the early annals of Rome Caere has a peculiar importance from a religious standpoint because of Rome's lasting gratitude to her for the protection offered the Vestal Virgins and the Flamen Quirinalis at the time of the Gallic catastrophe. This circumstance led some later etymologists to explain the word *caerimonia* as a derivation from Caere. For the local cults of Caere there is however singularly little evidence at any time. Even in the period of the city's greatest prosperity, the remains of terracotta decoration belonging to unidentified temples of Caere are practically all that we have to enable us to reconstruct the religious life of the town. In regard to these important fragments I am fortunate in being able to print here for the first time the following suggestions of Mrs. Van Buren, whose authoritative studies of terracotta decoration are familiar to every archaeologist.

THE EARLY TEMPLES AT CERVETRI, AND THEIR TERRACOTTA REVETMENTS.

" Caere, we gather from ancient writers, was a flourishing town at a period when Rome was still a village, and the tradition of its foundation by Greek colonists must have been kept alive by the evidences which abounded of cultural refinement and artistic development. The modern town covers only a small part of the much larger ancient city, rich in temples, public buildings and fine houses ; but the decay due to abandonment, the exigencies of the mediaeval dwellers on the spot, and, finally, the ruthless vandalism of predatory excavators completed the ruin of the once splendid edifices, so that not even their ground plan is preserved.

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[11] A fragmentary reference to the city in Dio, belonging probably to the year 273, tells how Caere avoided a later war with Rome by surrendering half her territory. Cf. Dio, frg. 33, Bossevain's edition, I p. 138.

" All that remains is the debris of the terracotta revetments of the original wooden buildings, inextricably mixed, and now scattered throughout the museums of two continents. All conjectures are hazardous, but a study of the material leads one to conclude that there were at least two temples situated close together in the area of the present Vigna Marini-Vitalini. The larger sanctuary, erected in the first half of the fifth century, was richly adorned with antifixes of alternating female and Satyrs' heads [a], a row of female heads along the lower line of the tympanon [b], and an acroterion consisting of a group of Eos carrying off Kephalos, now in Berlin [c]. The geison and raking cornice were covered by a rich and complicated series of slabs with conventional motives, and the pronaos with its friezes and hanging curtain glowed like a jewel. This decoration was restored from time to time, and probably the temple itself was rebuilt and enlarged, thus permitting a renewal and amplification of the revetment which would account for the evolution displayed by these terracottas, culminating in the graceful grill with female figure and dolphin [d], the heads of Satyrs [e], and the fine fourth century female head [f].

" The second temple must be dated as early as the sixth century, and was remarkable for the decoration of a group of warriors set in line upon the outer edge of the raking cornice, the largest occupying the place of the central acroterion [g]. These splendid figures are a

[a] *Mon. Inst. Suppl.* pl. II 1, 4 ; pl. III 2.

[b] *Mon. Inst. Suppl.* pl. III 4, 5 ; Luce, *A. J. A.* XXIV (1920) 27-36.

[c] Martha, *L'Art Etrusque* fig. 220.

[d] Wiegand, *Cat. Ny Carlsberg* II pl. 173 ; Luce, *A. J. A.* XXI (1917) 298, fig. 2.

[e] *Mon. Inst. Suppl.* pl. II 2, 3.

[f] *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, pl. 41.

[g] Wiegand, *op. cit.* pls. 171, 172 figs. 6-10.

storehouse of information as to armour and weapons at that period, and, painted as they were with strong colors, they must have produced a fine effect, standing out against the sky line. Possibly to the pronaos or interior of the cella belong the friezes with scenes of warriors in chariots, riders, and feasters [h], akin in subject and technique to those found at Velletri which also adorned a temple [i]. Given the martial nature of this decoration, it is tempting to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Ares, but this is a mere conjecture incapable of proof.

" The acroterion representing Athena pouring out wine for the seated Herakles [j] must have belonged to a small edifice possibly in the neighborhood of the acropolis to the west of the city, excavated about 1840. Certain antefixes and other fragments said to have come from Caere, such as the antefix of a female head supported by curving lotus leaves [k] and some of the heads of gorgons [l] do not seem to fit into the revetments from the two temples, and may have come from other buildings.

" The wealth of material we possess causes us to regret more deeply that the excavations were not undertaken with scientific precision, and that consequently the riddle of this important site is likely to remain insoluble ".

Rome, 1920.

(*Signed*): E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN.

The site of Caere has yielded two monuments of more general religious significance. One is a fragment of a stone calendar of the Julian year which covers the second half of January, February, March, April, and May [12]. The pieces of marble on which the calendar was inscribed had been used in the pavement of a later building where they were unearthed in 1873. From the record under January 30 of the dedication of the Ara Pacis it is clear that these *fasti* are later than 9 B. C., but from the archaic spelling of *loedi* it is probable that they are not much later. The other discovery, discussed in detail elsewhere, is the relief found in the theatre, which represents the cities of the Etruscan league [13].

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[h] Helbig, *Mélanges Perrot*, 170, figs. 2,3. Pellegrini, *Studi e Materiali* I 97 ff.

[i] *Notizie* 1915 77 ff. figs. 6-12.

[j] Martha, *op. cit.* fig. 221.

[k] Martha, *op. cit.* fig. 191. Pellegrini *op. cit.* 145 No. 9.

[l] Pellegrini, *op. cit.* p. 144 Nos. 1-4; Koch, *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien* pl. XXXIII, 2. pl. V, 7.

[12] *CIL.* XI 35 92; I 1^2 pp. 212-3.

Two collections of votive offerings have been discovered at Caere. One of them, found in 1829 just to the west of the line of Caere's ancient wall, consisted, Nibby says, of hundreds of heads, legs, arms etc. of terracotta, and of numerous statuettes representing a divinity with four wings and with a *modius* on the head [14]. The other votive offerings, now in the Chigi collection in Siena, were found about 1886, also to the west of Caere's ancient site [15]. They included numerous small statuettes representing a seated female figure holding a child on its knees — the familiar *kourotrophos* type which is similar to the discoveries made in the shrines of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, of Juno Lucina at Norba, and of Mater Matuta at Satricum. There were also heads with crowns (*stephane*) and small statuettes, several of Minerva and one of Herakles, the latter being made of lead. Some of the material is as early as the fifth century.

Both these groups of terracottas are to be referred to the cult of some female divinity to whom vows for health were made. The figure with *modius* is probably Fortuna who had an oracle cult at Caere [16]. The *kourotrophos* type might be Fortuna or Mater Matuta or Juno Lucina. These statuettes have in general been associated with Juno [17] and the type may well belong to that goddess.

APOLLO.

The treasury built by the Caerites at Delphi has already been referred to, and the possibility has been mentioned that it may date from Caere's consultation of the oracle after the citizens had butchered the captives from Alalia. The persistence at Caere of games and rites which the oracle ordered to be celebrated in honor of the Phocaean dead is mentioned by Herodotus (I 167). The games and the erection of Caere's treasury at Delphi seem to indicate a genuine cult of Pythian Apollo at Caere[18]. It is noteworthy that Spina on the Adriatic, a town that was an important Etruscan emporium during the late sixth and the fifth century, also had a treasury at Delphi.

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[13] See discussion of the Etruscan league under the Empire. The round altar with reliefs representing Pan and the Hours, also found in the theatre at Caere, was perhaps of more decorative than religious importance. Cf. Benndorf-Schoene, *op. cit.* n. 202, Pl. IV. For this Neo-Attic type see Rapp, s. v. Horai, Roscher 2722; Wernicke, s. v. Pan, Roscher 1423.

[14] Nibby, *Analisi dei Dintorni di Roma*, 549.

[15] Borsari, *Notizie* 1886, 38-39. Two vases with Etruscan inscriptions were also found with the offerings. Near by were discovered walls that perhaps belonged to a temple.

[16] For representations of Fortuna of this general type see Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire* II 264-6.

[17] See Pellegrini, *Studi e Materiali* I 144-9.

JUNO.

The possible evidence for the cult of Juno at Caere has already been mentioned. The importance of Juno in the surrounding country makes it likely that she was worshipped there.

JUPITER.

Among the *prodigia* of the year 208 B. C. Livy records the flight of a vulture into the temple of Jupiter[19]. Nothing further is known of the temple or of the cult of Jupiter.

MARS.

In a long inscription, which gives permission for the erection of a *phetrium* for the *Augustales*, there is a reference to a temple of Mars. Perhaps it may be associated with the sixth century temple adorned with terracottas of martial character of which Mrs. Van Buren has spoken.

FORTUNA.

Among the numerous *prodigia* recorded by Livy in 218, after the arrival of Hannibal in Italy, is the following (Livy XXI 62) : *et Caere sortes extenuatas.* Further on, among the measures taken to avert these omens, Livy says, *lectisternium Caere ubi sortes adtenuatae erant imperatum.* These lots, small inscribed tablets, usually of wood, bound together in bundles, belonged to the form of oracle that flourished particularly on Italian soil[20]. Their use is attested also for

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[18] See Höfer, s. v. Pythios, Roscher.

[19] Livy XXVII 23,3. Caere vulturium volasse in aedem Iovis.

[20] See Otto s. v. Fortuna, Pauly-Wissowa.

Patavium (Suet. *Tib.* 14), Falerii[21], where, as in Caere, the shrinkage in their number is on one occasion attested as a *prodigium*[22], and Praeneste[23], where they were connected with the great cult of Fortuna Primigenia. It is probable that in every case they are to be associated with the cult of Fortuna. The decree of a *lectisternium* in the *procuratio* for Caere indicates that the Romans felt the cult to be exotic.

The oracle at Caere may have declined in importance, for Cicero speaks of the oracle at Praeneste as the only one still in use in his day[24]. Yet a casual reference in Apollinaris Sidonius to *sortes Lycias Caeritumque*, coupled closely with Delphic *responsa*, seems to indicate that the oracle was fairly well known in antiquity[25]. It is an interesting suggestion of Klausen's[26] that Plutarch's Τηθύος ἐν Τυρρηνία χρηστήριον, from which advice was sought in one of the miraculous stories of Romulus's parentage[27], may refer to the oracle of Caere. The possible identification with Fortuna of the seated goddess on the altar of the Lares from Caere will be discussed later. The divinity with *modius* and wings represented in one group of the terracotta votive offerings is probably Fortuna and, as we have seen from the parallel at Praeneste, the *kourotrophos* type might also belong to the worship of the same divinity. The close relationship between Fortuna and the goddess of childbirth, Mater Matuta, has been demonstrated by Otto.

HERCULES.

The following inscription, found on the threshold of a private house in Caere, is probably a dedication to Hercules (3362): H. d. d. l. m.[28].

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[21] Livy XXII, 1,11 ; see discussion of Falerii.

[22] Cf. Bouché Leclerq, *Histoire de la divination* IV (1882) 146-147 ; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913) 216.

[23] Cicero, *de div.* II 85, 86 ; Otto, *l. c.* col. 25 ff.

[24] Cicero, *l. c.* Cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverw.* III 93 ff.

[25] Apol. Sidon. *C.* IX 190-193 :

> Non sortes Lyciasque Caeritumque
> Responsa aut Themidis priora Delphis,
> Nec quae fulmine Tuscus expiato
> Saeptum numina quaerit ad bidental.

[26] Klausen, *Aeneas und die Penaten* (1840) 772, note 1429.

[27] Plutarch, *Rom.* 2, quotes the story from Promathion.

[28] The inscription is published by mistake among the inscriptions of Tarquinii but the error is corrected in the *Auctarium*.

SILVANUS.

There is reason, though hardly conclusive reason, for assigning to Caere an inscription of 39 B. C. recording the erection of an altar to Silvanus by a group of twelve *magistri* (nine freedmen and three slaves)[29]. The monument probably belongs to one of the numerous *collegia Silvani*. The interpretation of the letters *mar* following Silvanus's name in the inscription is uncertain ; Huelsen suggested some such epithet as Martius or Maritimus, neither of which is elsewhere attested for Silvanus. Possibly the reference is to Mars, in which case the two gods, both of them often attested as divinities of *collegia* would have been honored jointly in this *collegium*.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

With the Lares Augusti and the genius of the ruler are to be associated the Dei Curiales of the following inscription (3593) : Deos curiales genium T. Claudi Caisaris Augusti p. p.[30] curiae Aserniae A. Avilius Acanthus dictator M. Iunius Eutychus de suo posuer. es[31]. The *Dei Curiales*, which occur only here, have been erroneously explained, on the analogy of the Greek Βουλαίοι Θεοί[32], as the gods of the senate house of Caere which was supposed to have been called *curia Asernia*. As Rosenberg has pointed out, the key to the understanding of this inscription is furnished by three tufa altars, probably of late republican date, found at Rome outside the Porta Portuensis in 1907 [33]. They are inscribed Lares Semitales, Lares [*C*]uri[*a*]les, and Lares Viales. In connection with the inscriptions Gatti cites an altar of Falerii dedicated to the Lares compitales, viales, semitales and notes that *curiales* on the Roman altar supplies the place of *compitales* [34]. He might also have cited the dei curiales of Caere who are obviously equivalent to Lares Curiales. Their association with the Genius of the Emperor still further shows their close relationship to the cult of the Lares Compitales as reorganized by Augustus. The *curia Asernia* is not the senate house of Caere but a designation of a division of the Caerites and perhaps also of the place of meeting which formed the centre of the *sacra* of the *curia* [35]. Evidently the Lares Augusti were worshipped in the *curiae* as well as in the *compita*.

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[29] 7602. Huelsen, *Röm. Mitt.* XXIII (1908), 37 [L.] Censorino C. Calvisio cos [*heisce*] mag. ara Silv. Mar. fac. cu[*r*]. There follow the names of a freedman and three slaves and, at the end, the name of a single freedman preceded by the letters *ni* on which Bormann notes : Corrigendum est MIN et intellegendum *min*(*ister*) probabiliter coniecit Gaheis, ut perscripti fuerint duodecim magistri (fortasse singulorum mensium) et unus minister. Huelsen at first attributed the inscription, which was known only from the San Gallo codex, to Capua, seeing in it some resemblance to the records of *magistri* and *ministri* there. The fact that the preceding inscription in the manuscript, apparently written at the same time, is from Caere led him to revise his judgement and assign the document to that city.

[30] P(atroni) p(erpetui) ?

[31] See Bormann's note as to erasures in the inscription. The dedication seems to be made by the dictators of two successive years.

[32] See Gervasio, s. v. *curia*, Ruggero 1401. Bormann compares also φράτριοι θεοί which are more closely analogous.

To the cult of the Lares Augusti and the Genius of the Emperor must also be assigned the well-known altar of Manlius, which was found in the theatre of Caere in 1846 and is now in the Lateran Museum. On its front is the inscription (3616): (Gaio) Manlio (Gaii) f(ilio) cens(ori) perpet(uo) clientes patrono. Beneath the inscription is a relief representing a sacrificial scene in which the victim is a bull. On each end of the altar there is a representation of the familiar type of Lar with curly hair, short tunic, and boots. The figure stands between laurel bushes and holds a *rhyton* and a *patera*. On the rear there is a scene showing a goddess seated on a high-backed throne which rests on an elevated rocky base. Beneath the throne of the goddess on one side is a group of three women in suppliant attitude, while on the other side there is a group of three men, two of whom seem to be having an altercation. The usual view that the sacrificial scene on the front belongs to the cult of the goddess on the rear is impossible, because Roman ritual law did not permit the sacrifice of a male victim to a goddess [36]. The altar has its closest analogies in the series of altars set up to the Lares Augusti and the Emperor's Genius by the *vicorum magistri* of Rome. The bull about to be sacrificed is the proper victim for the genius of a living emperor (the ox being the regular victim for deified emperors and for most other gods) and the Lares on the ends are not the household Lares of Manlius but the Lares Augusti. The goddess on the rear is possibly Fortuna, but more probably Concordia Augusta to whose type she conforms. The women are perhaps begging her to settle a dispute between the men, and the whole scene may refer to some local event which it was suitable to have recorded on a monument in the theatre of Caere.

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[33] Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, 133 ; Vaglieri, *Notizie* 1907, 465-6 ; Gatti, *Bull. com.* 1908, 42-47 and Tav. IV ; Dessau 9251. The altar of the Lares curiales is slightly older than the other two.

[34] Gatti, *l. c.* 43 ; Wissowa 170 n. 2. See discussion of Falerii.

[35] *Curiae* are common in municipalities in Africa. At Malaca in Spain the *curia* was the electoral division of the city. Cf. the famous *Lex* of Malaca, *CIL.* II 1964 ch. 52 ff. In Italy *curiae* are attested elsewhere only at Lanuvium. Their existence in an Etruscan city is interesting. On the *curiae*, which present many difficult problems, see Gervasio, *l. c.*; Kübler s. v. *Curia*, Pauly-Wissowa; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III 89-102 ; Rosenberg, *op. cit.* 133.

There was a *templum divorum* at Caere in which the senate met in 114 (3614). Two important documents relate to *Augustales* and *seviri Augustales*. One of them is an inscription of 25 A. D. according to which a group of twelve freedmen, probably the *seviri Augustales* who held office for two successive years, gave Greek and Latin games from the 24th of February to the first of March and distributed wine and cakes to the people (3613). The other is an excerpt from municipal records of 113 and 114 A. D. recording the permission granted by the *decuriones* to Vestinus, freedman of Trajan, to erect a *phetrium* for the *Augustales* (3614). The word *phetrium*, which occurs only here, is probably equivalent to φράτριον and seems to indicate a small shrine, sacred perhaps to the cult of the emperors. The *phetrium* was constructed on public property in a corner of the portico of the *basilica Sulpiciana* of Caere, a building of which nothing further is known. The dedication day of the *phetrium* is the first of August, a day significant in the early principate as the anniversary of the capture of Alexandria ; it is elsewhere mentioned as the date on which new *Augustales* entered upon their office.

GROVE OF SILVANUS NEAR CAERE.

Vergil describes an ancient grove of Silvanus that lay near the Trojan camp (*Aen.* VIII 597-602) :

> est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem,
> religione patrum late sacer ; undique colles

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[36] See *American Journal of Archaeology* XXV (1921), 387-395. The altar seems to be Augustan or perhaps slightly later. Its dedication to Manlius by his clients may be explained by the fact that Manlius's clients were active in the cult of the Lares Compitales.

inclusere cavi et nigra nemus abiete cingunt.
Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelasgos,
arvorum pecorisque deo, lucumque diemque,
qui primi finis aliquando habuere Latinos.

The *Caeritis amnis* referred to here (cf. Pliny *N. H.* III 51) is the *Fossa della Vaccina.* The site of this grove has been identified by Rosati [37], a local student of Caere's antiquities, with Monte Abetone, whose modern name he would associate with the fir trees which Vergil mentions in ancient times. There is no reason to doubt the existence of an ancient cult of Silvanus here.

HOT SPRINGS NEAR CAERE: HERCULES.

The hot springs of Caere, still in use under the name Bagni del Sasso, lay six miles northwest of the town. In the Augustan Age (Strabo V 2,3) they were more populous than Caere itself. Perhaps the most important of the springs was the fons Herculis [38].

ALSIUM.

This city, one of the three ports of Caere, is little known in spite of some significant remains of chamber tombs found in its little explored necropolis (Dennis I 222). It received a citizen colony in 247 B. C. (Vell. I 14, 8). Later it was chiefly important as a popular villa site for wealthy Romans, among whom may be mentioned Caesar, Verginius Rufus, and Marcus Aurelius [39].

The only certain religious evidence comes in a document showing the existence of bodies of *iuvenes* and *Augustales* mentioned with the *decuriones* (3723). There is also a possible example of an individual holding the title *Augustalis* [40].

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[37] See Rosati, *Cere e i suoi monumenti*, Foligno (1890), 13. On the passage see also Heinze, *Virgils Epische Technik*³ 353f; Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* 319.

[38] Livy XXII 1, 10. Et aquas Caerites sanguine mixtas fluisse fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis.

[39] Cf. Bormann, *CIL.* XI p. 549.

[40] 3543, found at Centumcellae. See Bormann's commentary.

PYRGI.

The Greek form of the name of this port of Caere and the evidence for the cult of a goddess Leukothea there seem to indicate that a Greek settlement once existed on the site. But the cult, as we shall see, was probably Italic, and there are no other evidences of Greek survivals on the spot. Still it is likely that Pyrgi, like Caere's other port Alsium, owes its name to Greek traders [41].

In the Pyrgi veteres, mentioned by Vergil (*Aeneid* X 184) among the allies of Aeneas, there is a genuine antiquity. The walls that surround the tiny coast town on the site of the fortress of Santa Severa (Dennis I ch. XXII) together with the evidence for Dionysius's marauding expedition in 384 attest the town's early existence even though it is not mentioned by the Roman annalists. Pyrgi is mentioned by Servius as a well known stronghold of Etruscan piracy [42]. At some date before 191 B. C., very probably toward the end of the first Punic War, when Fregenae and Alsium were colonized, Pyrgi received a citizen colony (Livy XXXVI 3,6). Later the shore became a popular resort and in the time of Rutilius there was nothing to be seen except villas [43].

Mater Matuta or Juno Lucina.

Important evidence for Pyrgi's religious history comes from the accounts of the expedition which Dionysius of Syracuse made to that town to rob the rich temple of the goddess who is referred to as Λευκόθεα or Εἰλείθυια [44]. According to most of the accounts, the expedition was undertaken to replenish the king's depleted treasury to which even the shrines of Syracuse had to pay tribute. But an incidental allusion by Strabo to the fact that Dionysius plundered this temple while on his way to Corsica probably preserves the facts of the case [45]. In spite of the active opposition of the Caerites who came to the aid of the meagre forces of Pyrgi, Dionysius succeeded in carrying away more than 1500 talents in gold, at least a thousand of which came from the goddess's temple. It was then a rich sanctuary that must have enjoyed fame among neighboring peoples. Strabo speaks as if it still existed in his day.

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[41] On the evidence of Diodorus XV 14 there seems no reason to doubt, as Nissen does (347), that Pyrgi served as a port for Caere.

[42] Servius on *Aeneid* X 184: Hoc castellum nobilissimum fuit eo tempore quo Tusci piraticam exercuerunt.

[43] Rutilius Nam. I 223-4: Alsia praelegitur tellus, Pyrgique recedunt; nunc villae grandes, oppida parva prius.

[44] Strabo, V 2, 8; Aristotle, *Oeconom.* II 2, 1349 b; Polyaen. V 2, 21; Aelian, *V. H.* I 20; Diodorus XV 14.

Given the Greek name of Pyrgi and the fact that in the allusions to the cult, all of which come from Greek writers, the goddess is referred to only under Greek names, one is tempted to see in the worship a genuine Greek cult. But we have seen that Pyrgi's name hardly indicates more than a place where Greek sailors landed, and it is improbable that the cult of a goddess of childbirth should have been established by sailors. The true nature of the divinity was seen by Wesseling [46] who suggested that the goddess of Pyrgi was Mater Matuta, the old Italic divinity of childbirth [47]. Her cult is attested in central Italy at Satricum, Cales, Cora, Praeneste, and Pisaurum. The remains of her famous shrine at Satricum have been found and the splendid terracottas and votive offerings show the strength of the goddess's cult at an early period. It is also possible that the temple was sacred to Juno Lucina whose ancient shrine is known at Norba.

PATER PYRGENSIS.

Interesting evidence for the *deus patrius* of Pyrgi is preserved in a dedication to Asclepius Salutaris (3710): Asclepio salutari Aug. sacr. in honore patris Pyrgensis L. Volumnius Carus de suo fecit. Locus attributus ex d. d. The closest parallel for this god is Pater Reatinus from Reate (Wissowa 224 n. 8). The dedication seems to indicate the erection of a statue of Asclepius in the sanctuary of Pater Pyrgensis.

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[45] Strabo V 2,8: ἔχει δὲ Εἰληθυίας ἱερὸν, Πελασγῶν ἵδρυμα, πλούσιόν ποτε γενόμενον· ἐσύλησε δ'αὐτὸ Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Σιϰελιωτῶν τύραννος ϰατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐπὶ ϰύρνον. Cf. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums,* V 164-5.

[46] Cf. Wesseling's edition of Diodorus (Amsterdam, 1746) *ad loc.*

[47] This view is accepted by Wissowa, 110 and s. v. Mater Matuta, Roscher.

ASCLEPIUS SALUTARIS.

The dedication to this god may not indicate an independent temple. The inscription, as appears from a statement in the unpublished Auctarium of the *Corpus* was on a statue base on which the feet of the statue were still visible.

SOL IUVANS.

In this dedication, set up by a senator who was taking a holiday at Pyrgi, the epithet Iuvans is unique (3711): Soli iuvanti L. Volumnius Horatianus sodal(is) Aug(ustalis) praet(or) urb(anus). The cult was probably one of the many Oriental sun worships.

6. OTHER SETTLEMENTS OF SOUTHWESTERN ETRURIA.

FREGENAE.

This coast town not far north of the mouth of the Tiber received a citizen colony in 245 B. C. In its *ager* seem to have lain the *salinae*, known down to comparatively modern times as *Campo Saline*.

DIANA, LARES AUGUSTI.

A dedication to Lares Augusti and Diana Fregenas (?) set up by a freedman provides the only evidence for an official cult[1]. The combination of Diana and the imperial Lares is unusual[2].

LORIUM.

Lorium, twelve miles from Rome on the Via Aurelia, is known chiefly as an important villa site, the place where the Emperor Antoninus Pius passed his boyhood, and later built a villa in which he died. The five religious dedications, one to DIANA[3]. two to FORTUNA[4], and two to SILVANUS[5], are all of a private nature. One of the dedications to Silvanus was set up by a slave of one of the Faustinas. There is no evidence of an independent community.

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[1] 7726. Laribus Au[*gustis*] Dianae Freg[*enati*] M. Avillio M. L.

[2] A dedication to the genius of the corporation of porters (genius saccariorum salariorum) who carried the salt from the *salinae* across to Portus would seem to belong rather to the cults of Portus (7725 = Dessau 6178).

[3] 7728. A. Plautius Fadius Princeps Dianae v. s. l. m.

[4] 3730. (On a small marble altar adorned with *urceus* and *patera*) L. Annius Largus F(ortunae) D(omesticae) d(onum) d(edit). 3731. (On a marble tablet) Fortunae sacrum Lusia Galeria Gai filia Rufina C. f.

[5] 3732. Silbano sacrum Alexander Fausstines Aug. actor d. d. 3733. Silvano sac. L. Gavius Agatho de solo restituendum cur. voluntate L(ucii) n(ostri).

CASTRUM NOVUM.

This town lay on the coast four miles south of Centumcellae. It was here rather than at the town of corresponding name in Picenum that a citizen colony seems to have been founded between 290 and 286. The town is hardly mentioned except by the geographers.

APOLLO.

An altar to the god apparently belonging to an official cult, was restored here (3572) : Apollini sacrum L. Statilius Primus de sua p(ecunia) p(osuit) hanc aram vetustate labefactam. L. Statilius Pollio de sua pec. et renovavit et restituit.

JUNO HISTORIA.

The following dedication probably belongs to a statue (3573) : Iunoni Historiae Felephus et Priscus l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum). The curious epithet Historia is known only here and is hard to explain. From the fact that the local senate granted the place for the statue we may infer that this was an official cult.

CENTUMCELLAE.

There seems to have been no independent municipality about the port which Trajan constructed here. The only religious evidence from the site before the beginning of Christianity is an inscription which may record a priest of MAGNA MATER[6]. Even if the inscription is so interpreted, it is doubtful whether it came originally from this region. In the early Christian period the place came into greater prominence.

CHRISTIANITY.

The earliest bishop of the region belongs to the year 314 but in the *Liber Pontificalis* (I p. 150 ed. Duchesne) it is recorded that between 251 and 253 Pontifex Cornelius was summoned from here to Rome by the Emperor Trebonianus and martyred. The inscriptions include a number that are evidently Christian[7].

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[6] 3550. C. Proculei... Mag(nae) d(eum) M(atris) s(acerdos) ?

VICINITY OF CENTUMCELLAE.

At La Tolfa 14 kilometers northeast of Centumcellae is the following inscription which as Bormann suggests might be classed either as religious or as sepulchral (3552): Deanae sacrum in memoriam Terentiae Cn. f. Priscae C. Decimus Ammonianus Flavianus uxoris Ammonilla f(ilia) matris fecer(unt)[8].

Another fragmentary record from the same place (3544) seems to preserve the name of a *sacerdos*.

AQUAE APOLLINARES.

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the Antonine Itinerary mention Aquae Apollinares twelve miles from Tarquinii. The same baths are probably referred to in Martial's *Phoebi vada* (VI 42, 7). Since there are no baths within a radius of twelve miles of Tarquinii, the itineraries are probably inexact. The discovery of numerous dedications to Apollo at Vicarello on the Lake of Bracciano (*Lacus Sabatinus*) has led Nissen (353) and other scholars to identify these baths with the Aquae Apollinares. But since curative baths were regularly sacred to Apollo, the identification cannot be established. As Kiepert has shown[9], the Bagni di Stiliano, eight miles west of the Lake of Bracciano, accord better with the supposed position of the Aquae Apollinares. The discovery of an ancient road that connects the Aurelia and the Clodia and runs past the Bagni di Stiliano gives further support for this identification. The existence of a cult of Apollo here is to be assumed.

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[7] For the inscriptions of Centumcellae see the important recent additions published by Mengarelli, *Notizie* 1919, 209-231.

[8] For similar dedications to Diana in sepulchral inscriptions see *CIL.* III 3836; X 6300 add.

[9] Kiepert, *Formae Orbis Ant.* Pl. XX, and accompanying text where the previous views are fully given.

AQUAE AT VICARELLO.

If these baths are not to be identified with the Aquae Apollinares, they represent nevertheless a health resort important in ancient times as well as to-day—a site that has preserved significant records of devotion to Apollo as a god of healing.

When in 1852 the great popularity of the Bagni di Vicarello made necessary some enlargement of the arrangements for the baths, the ancient well of the spring was destroyed and in the water were found objects thrown there as votive *stips* to the god of healing, coins and inscribed vases, chiefly of silver. The coins, including *aes rude*, quantities of *aes grave*, and Republican bronzes, attest the use of the springs from the fourth century B. C. The vases include four silver cups that have inscribed on them the itinerary from Gades to Rome ; they evidently record a visit of Spaniards to the healing springs[10] (3281-4).

Apollo and the Nymphs, Silvanus, Asclepius.

Inscriptions on the vases record dedications to Apollo, sometimes with the epithet Sanctus[11], to Apollo and the Nymphs who in one case have the epithet Domitianus[12], to Apollo, Silvanus and the Nymphs[13], and to the Nymphs alone[14]. An inscription from Vicarello, preserved on manuscript authority, gives a dedication to Apollo, Silvanus, Asclepius, and the Nymphs[15]. A Greek inscription, found in the walls of a house torn down in 1852, records a dedication to Apollo made in accordance with the warning of a dream[16].

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[10] Cf. Marchi, *La stipe tributata alle divinità delle Acque Apollinari*, Roma, 1852; Henzen, *Rh. Mus.* IX (1854) 20-36. Haeberlin, *Zeitsch. für Numismatik* XXVII (1909) 1 ff., has noted that practically all the coins follow the Campanian standard. The silver cups with the itineraries are now in the Terme museum in Rome.

[11] 3285 (now in the Etruscan museum of the Vatican). Apollini Sancto Cl. Severianus d. d.

[12] 3286. Apollini et Nymphis Domitianis Q. Cassius Ianuarius d. d. 3287. Apollini sancto et Nymphis voto suscepto Gavia Rhodine d. d. calicem argenteum p. s. 3288 (now in the Etruscan museum of the Vatican) Apollini et Nymphis sanctis Naevia Bassilla d. d.

[13] 3289. Apollini Silvano Nymphis Q. Licinius Nepos d. d.

[14] 3290. Numphabus Minucia Zosime d. d.

[15] 3294. Apollini Silvano Asclepio Nymphis sacrum L. ? aiatius Phoebus decurialis decuriae Iuliae praeconiae consularis voto suscepto d. d. con Phoebiano filio.

FORUM CLODI.

This community, which lay on Lake Bracciano close to the modern town of Bracciano, must have been founded, like many similar *fora* of Italy, as a market town, at the time of the construction of the road on which it lay — in this case the Via Clodia from which it took its name. The title *Praefectura Claudia Foroclodi*, attested by Pliny and supported by the evidence of two inscriptions, shows that the community was in a somewhat more favored class than the ordinary *forum*. It is the only town of Etruria known to have been a prefecture, a type of community that was originally administered by a prefect appointed at Rome. The fact that new communities of this type ceased to be instituted after the Social War[17] gives some indication as to the date of the foundation of the town, and, incidentally, as to the time of the construction of the Via Clodia about which nothing is known from other sources. It is very likely that C. Clodius Vestalis, the proconsul recorded as patron of the community and probably identical with the moneyer of the early Augustan Age, is a descendant of the founder of Forum Clodi[18]. Especially noteworthy is the persistence here of the title *praefectura* which seems everywhere to have lost its special significance as a result of the reforms following the Social War (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III 797). In various other towns the term continued for a time to be used but nowhere is it attested as late as at Forum Clodi where it is found in an inscription of 174 A. D. Two inscriptions of 5 B. C. prove that the magistrates of the community were then not *praefecti* but the usual *duumviri* (3304, 3305, cf. 3303). Within the territory of Forum Clodi there was a *vicus ad Bonam Deam* (3303), the inhabitants of which (or *vicani*) were distinguished from those who dwelt within the city limits (*Claudienses urbani*, 3310 a).

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[16] 3296. Σεξτίλ[ιος] "Ατταλο[ς] οβας 'Απόλλωνι κατ' ὄναρ 'Αφροδεισιεύς. The meaning of οβας is not clear.

[17] Cf. Mommsen, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* XV (1887) 205-6. This fact is not considered by Huelsen, s. v. *Clodia Via*, Pauly - Wissowa,

[18] Mommsen, *l. c.* 202-206 ; Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* I 564. Mommsen's dating of the coin between 37 and 17 B. C. is more probable than Grueber's in 43 B. C. Grueber's statement that the seated female figure is the Vestal Claudia Quinta rests upon a mistaken identification of the coin before the discovery of the inscription 3310a.

BONA DEA.

The *vicus ad Bonam Deam* must have taken its name from a shrine or temple of the goddess who was elsewhere honored in *vici* or *pagi*[19].

GENIUS PRAEFECTURAE CLAUDIAE.

A silver statue of the Genius of the Praefectura Claudia was presented to the town by Lucius Cascellius Probus in consideration of the honor conferred on him by his election to the *quinquennales*[20].

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

The most important document of the imperial cult as practised in municipalities during the reign of Tiberius is the following inscription preserved on a small marble tablet that was found at Forum Clodi (XI 3303) : Ti. Caesare tert(ium) Germanico Caesare iter(um) Co(n)s[ulibus] ; Cn. Acceio Cn. f. Arn(ensi) Rufo Lutatio, T. Petillio P. f. Qui(rina) II vir(is) decreta :

Aediculam et statuas has, hostiam dedicationi. Victimae natali Aug(usti) VIII k(alendas) Octobr(es) duae, quae p(er)p(etui) inmolari adsueta(e) sunt, ad aram, quae numini Augusto dedic(ata) est, VIIII et VIII k(alendas) Octobr(es) inmolentur ; item natali Ti. Caesaris perpetue acturi decuriones et populus cenarent — quam inpensam Q. Cascell[i]o Labeone in perpetuo(m) pollicenti, ut gratiae agerentur munificentiae eius — eoque natali ut quotannis vitulus inmolaretur ; et ut natalibus Augusti et Ti. Caesarum, priusquam ad vescendum decuriones irent, thure et vino genii eorum ad epulandum ara numinis Augusti invitarentur. Ara(m) numini Augusto pecunia nostra faciendam curavimus ; ludos ex idibus Augustis diebus sex p(ecunia) n(ostra) faciendos curavimus ; natali Augustae mulsum et crustlum mulieribus vicanis ad bonam deam pecunia nostra dedimus ; item dedicatione statuarum Caesarum et Augustae mulsum et crustla pecunia nostra decurionib(us) et populo dedimus, perpetuoque eius die dedicationis daturo(s) nos testati sumus; quem diem, quo frequentior quodannis sit, servabimus VI idus Martias, qua die Ti. Caesar pontif(ex) maximus felicissime est creatus.

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[19] *CIL*. V 762 ; IX 3138 ; *Cults of Ostia* 28.

[20] 7556 (Dessau 6584). L. Cascellio L. fil. Volt. Probo quinquennali etc. ob honorem sibi oblatu[m] imaginem Geni praef. Claudiae ex argenti pondo sex cum base aerea de sua pecunia rei p(ublicae) d. d...

The consular date is 18 A. D. The first part of the text is an extract from a decree of the municipal senate. The obscure phrases *aediculam et statuas has* and *hostiam dedicationi* are probably the opening words of chapters of the decree that are not quoted. The statues must be those of the Caesars and of Augusta (Livia) referred to later[21]. The portion quoted in full provides that the two victims which had regularly been sacrificed on September 24, the birthday of Augustus, should henceforth be sacrificed on two days, the 23rd and 24th at the altar of the Numen Augustum; lasting provision is also made for a supper for *decuriones* and people on the birthday of Tiberius and for the annual sacrifice of a bullock on that day; instructions are further given that the *decuriones*, before going to their own banquets on the birthday of the two emperors, should summon the *Genii* of Augustus and Tiberius to a feast at the altar of the Numen Augustum. The second part of the inscription records the special gifts of the *duumviri* to the people in connection with the decree. They built at their expense the altar to the Numen Augustum and they gave games at the altar for six days beginning August 13; on the birthday of Livia they gave wine and cakes to the women of the *vicus ad Bonam deam;* when the statues of the Caesars and of Augusta were dedicated, they gave wine and cakes to the *decuriones* and the people; they also made provisions that this last gift was to be continued in future, and, in order to secure a larger gathering, the dedication day was to be celebrated on March 10, the anniversary of Tiberius's election as *pontifex maximus*.

The form Numen Augustum occurs only in this inscription, although it is possible that *Numen Aug.* or *August.* which is found in various dedications, particularly in Britain and Gaul, is to be similarly restored. *Numen Augusti*, which appears on the altar of Narbo (*CIL.* XII 4333) and on an early imperial inscription of Pompeii (Dessau

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[21] 3306-3307, inscriptions recording the names of Drusus, the son of Tiberius, and of Germanicus, probably belonged to this monument. Similar stones giving in fragmentary form the names of Livia and probably of Tiberius were published by Tomassetti from Bracciano in *Bull. Comm.* 1906, 83. There is little doubt that these two inscriptions also come from Forum Clodi.

5146), is the closest parallel, but it is clearly equivalent to Numen Caesaris Augusti which occurs elsewhere on the Narbo inscription[22]. It was to this Numen Augusti that Tiberius dedicated an altar in Rome on January 17th, probably just after his Pannonian triumph in 14 A. D.[23]. Such a designation of the divinity of Augustus, equivalent in meaning to the Genius Augusti[24], was natural before Augustus's death, but afterwards we should expect to find the more usual expression, divus Augustus[24a]. The reference to Augustus's Genius in the document of Forum Clodi suggests that, even though the altar was not actually set up until 18 A. D, the original provision for it was made before the death of the first Emperor. The term Numen Augustum seems to refer, as did the later term Numen domus Augustae, to the entire reigning house. The text of the inscription accords well with the belief that the altar at Forum Clodi was dedicated to the house of Augustus and not to Augustus alone, for Tiberius, in the propitiation of his Genius and the celebration of his birthday, is honored hardly less than Augustus at the altar, and Augusta (i.e. Livia), though not definitely associated with the altar, has a share in the homage recorded.

A few words may be added with reference to the festivals recorded in the inscription. The birthday of Augustus was made a holiday after the battle of Actium (Cassius Dio LI 19), and from 12 B. C. on it was celebrated by circus games (Dio LV 6; LVII 14). It actually fell not, as stated in the document of Forum Clodi, on September 24, but on September 23, a date that is abundantly attested by literary and inscriptional evidence. That seems to have been the date of Augustus's birthday according to the old calendar, and after the Julian reform added one day to the month of September he apparently continued to calculate his birthday from the beginning of the month instead of by the more usual Roman method, from the end (*CIL.* I 1², p. 330). Yet it was doubtless hesitation as to which date really was the correct one that led the knights to extend the celebration over two days (Suet. *Aug.* 57) — a prolongation of the festival that met with some acceptance, both at Rome and in municipalities [25]. The birthday of Tiberius, which occurred on November 16, is indicated on the *Feriale Cumanum*, a list of festivals of the imperial house that was inscribed during the latter part of Augustus's life time (*CIL.* I 1², p. 229). But that document and the inscription from Forum Clodi suggest that the celebration was more important in municipalities than at Rome where Tiberius, in the early part of his reign, showed his characteristic modesty in his objections to special display on his birthday (Suet. *Tib.* 26). Hence the date is not indicated in the *Fasti Amiterni* which are slightly later than 20 A. D.; on the other hand it is found in the *Fasti Antiates* of 51 A. D., a fact that corresponds with Suetonius's statement that the day was — at least eventually — included in the *Fasti*[26]. The birthday of Livia, who by the terms of Augustus's will took the name Julia Augusta, can be shown, from the fragmentary records of the *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, to have fallen on January 30 [27]. The inscription of Forum Clodi gives the earliest recorded celebration of the occasion. Another municipal inscription of unknown provenience provides for a banquet for *decuriones* and *Augustales* on that day in 23 A. D. [28]. At Rome in 32, after Livia's death, a banquet was given to the priests on her birthday [29]. The other day recorded in the inscription of Forum Clodi — March 10, the date of Tiberius's election as *pontifex maximus* which took place in 15 A. D. — is listed as a festival in the *Fasti Praenestini* in an addition that must have been made early in Tiberius's reign [30]. The last festival mentioned in the document of Forum Clodi, the Ides of August, apparently the dedication day of the altar to the Numen Augustum, and the five following days on which the *duumviri* gave games, have no correspondence in the Roman calendar.

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[22] For the *numina* of other emperors see Dessau's indices, III p. 547.

[23] Cf. *Fasti Praenestini* for Jan. 17 where Mommsen's restoration seems very probable: Pontifices a[*ugures XV viri s. f. VII*]vir epulonum victumas inm[*ol*]ant N[*umini augusti ad aram q*]uam dedicavit Ti. Caesar Fe[*licitat*]i. Q[*uod Ti. Caesar aram*] Aug. patri dedicavit. Cf. Mommsen, *CIL.* I 1^2 p.308; on the date 14 A. D. see Heinen, *Klio* XI (1911) 173.

[24] See my paper on the *Cult of Augustus in Italy during his Lifetime*, in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LI. (1920) 116-133.

[24a] Although there are numerous instances of dedications to the genii of the deceased (Dessau 8045-8052), no other reference to the Genius of a dead emperor is recorded.

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[25] Cf. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* p. LIX; two days were given to the celebration at Narbo also, *CIL.* XII 4333.

[26] Suet. *Tib.* 5; *CIL.* I 1² p. 335.

[27] Cf. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium* p. 52.

[28] *CIL.* VI 29681. It possibly belongs to Trebula Suffenatium in Latium. Cf. *Tran. Am. Phil. Assoc.* XLV (1914) 240, note 27.

[29] Tac. *Ann.* VI 5 where Messalinus Cotta is quoted as having said that the banquet was a funeral feast. Livia was not deified until the reign of Claudius.

[30] Mommsen *CIL.* I 1² p. 311. The day is also indicated on the *Fasti Vaticani* which were inscribed during the reign of Tiberius.

TERRITORY OF FORUM CLODI.

From Anguillara on the Lake of Bracciano, which Bormann thinks may have been in the territory of Forum Clodi, comes a small altar dedicated to IUPPITER TONANS FULMINANS[31].

BLERA.

Blera, the modern Bieda, which lay on the Via Clodia, is, except for the barest mention in Pliny (*N. H.* III 52) and the geographers, known only from the discoveries on the spot[32]. Although really scientific excavations have never been conducted there, we are fortunate in having an exhaustive study of the remains of town and necropolis[33]. In the seventh and sixth centuries the town seems to have had a large agricultural population. Extensive drainage canals were built at that time to save the land from the erosion that has brought ruin today. In Roman times there was an independent municipality on the site, but the town had declined greatly in importance.

Two private dedications, one of them addressed to IUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS, DII, DEAE OMNES[34], and the other to SILVANUS[35] and an inscription to Nero, the son of Germanicus, set up by six *seviri Augustales* (3336, *auctarium*, cf. 3339) provide the only material for the cults of Blera.

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[31] 3773. Sacr. Iovi tonanti fulminanti. Cf. the cult of Iuppiter Tonans at Mt. Musinus six miles east of here. See discussion of Veii.

The head of Cybele in marble mentioned here by Abbate, *Guida della Provincia di Roma* II 14, does not justify the conclusion of Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle, Mère des Dieux* 423, that there was a cult of Magna Mater here.

[32] Dennis I 207-218.

[33] Koch, Mercklin, Weickert, *Bieda, Röm. Mitt.* XXX (1915) 161-303.

[34] 3333. Iovi o. m. sacrum dibus deabus omn. posuer. L. A. Ecani Modestus et Moderatus. See auctarium.

[35] 3334. Silvano s. sacrum A. Avilius A. f. Iustinus ex visu. 3335 is a fragmentary dedication to some divinity such as [*Cere*]ri or [*Vene*]ri set up by a [*mag*]ister.

TUSCANA.

Only geographers and inscriptions record the existence of this town. In Roman times there was an independent community whose name survives in the modern Toscanella. Etruscan tombs of the third century and later have been unearthed in the surrounding country. Nissen (336) suggests that the city may earlier have been a dependency of Tarquinii.

The building or rebuilding of an *aedes* is recorded in the fragmentary inscription 2952.

SILVANUS.

The following *ex voto* to the god was found here (2951): C. Avnius Aper Silvano v. s. l. m.

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

There is a record of an *haruspex* who also holds the title *decurialis* (2955).

7. TARQUINII.

No site in Etruria has a necropolis that shows wealth and prosperity lasting over so long a period as does Tarquinii, a town that lies about five miles from the coast in south central Etruria. The earliest burials dating from the beginning of the Iron Age are of the most characteristic and complete Villanova type. Importations seem to have begun at an early period. A scarabaeus of Sebakhotep V provides undoubted evidence of Phoenician traders there [1]. The tombs from the seventh to the fifth century attest active trade with Greece. In them have been found many of the finest examples of Attic Black-figured and early Red-figured ware [2]. The city's wide territory seems to have extended as far as the lake of Bolsena [3].

In literary tradition Tarquinii is referred to as one of the most ancient and prosperous cities of Etruria. *Urbs Etruriae florentissima*, Cicero calls it (*de Rep.* II 34), in its palmiest days. Its reputed foundation by Tarchon, the son or brother of the Lydian Tyrrhenos, the man who brought the Etruscans to Italy, and its claim as the city from whose soil sprang Tages, the father of Etruscan divination, give it a preeminent place among Etruscan cities which Rosenberg's recent researches have shown reason to believe that it maintained. For, like Clusium, Tarquinii seems to have been for a time the centre where the representatives of the Etruscan league gathered [4].

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[1] *Notizie* 1882, 183 ; Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II 508.

[2] Among discussions of the necropolis see Ghirardini, *Notizie* 1882, 136-215 ; Undset, *Annali dell'Inst.* 1884, 1-104 ; Pernier, *Notizie* 1907, *passim* ; Karo, *Athenische Mitteilungen* XXXXV (1920) 108ff. with important discussion of the Bocchoris grave and its significance for chronology. The objects that have remained in Italy are divided mainly between the Museo Gregoriano, the Archaeological Museum in Florence, and the local museum at Corneto.

[3] Pliny *N. H.* XXXVI 168 ; Vitruvius II 7,3.

As the city from which Rome's most powerful and most hated dynasty and much of her Etruscan ritual seem to have come, Tarquinii has an important place in Roman tradition. Whether the tradition is to be accepted literally or not is a matter of doubt, but unquestionably Tarquinii's name is derived from the same family as Rome's kings, a family that has left records in many parts of Etruria. The tradition is at least consistent in making Tarquinii active in her efforts to restore the family to Rome [5].

In the history of Rome's Republican wars Tarquinii does not appear on either side until 397 B. C. when Rome, hard pressed by the war with Veii in which Falerii and Capena had joined against her, had to encounter in the Tarquinienses *novi hostes* (Livy V 16). After the fall of Veii Tarquinii must have taken part with the other Etruscans (Etruria prope omnis armata, Livy, VI 3) in the siege of Sutrium, for shortly thereafter (Livy VI 4) the two unknown cities Cortuosa and Contenebra, near neighbors and apparently dependencies of Tarquinii, were captured and destroyed by the Roman army. From 358 to 351 Tarquinii, part of the time at least in alliance with Caere and Falerii, was constantly at war with Rome ; during this period there is a story that in a certain battle priests of Falerii and Tarquinii, in the vanguard of their army, terrified and temporarily routed the Roman soldiers by brandishing flaming torches and serpents (Livy VII 17) [6]. The first reference to Tarquinii in Diodorus (XVI 45) comes in 358 when 260 Tarquinienses were put to death in the Roman Forum. This was, according to Livy (VII 15 and 19), done in retaliation for a similar act of the Tarquinienses who, like the Caerites, it would seem, were ready to sacrifice their captives to the gods. In 351 the Tarquinienses obtained a truce for forty years (Livy VII 22) which they seem faithfully to have kept for we hear no more of them until the great Etruscan war of 311-8. By this time Tarquinii had yielded preeminence to Etruscan cities that lay further north, and we hear of the city only when in 308, thoroughly cowed, it made a separate peace with a truce for forty years at a time when the other Etruscan cities entered upon *indutiae annuae* (Livy IX 41, cf. Diod. XX 44).

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[4] Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, 51ff.

[5] Schulze 95. Cf. Dion. V 3 and 14ff ; Livy II 6 and 7.

[6] Compare a similar event in the wars with Fidenae mentioned by Livy IV 33 ; according to Frontin. *Strat.* II 418 citizens were masquerading as priests in the battle

Later the city underwent a further decline in importance, but retained its prestige as the centre of Etruscan divination. Its political status is a matter of great dispute. According to Livy (XXVIII 45) it was an allied city in 205 when it contributed sails for Scipio's equipment. There is, as Frank has shown (*Klio* XI 377-8), no adequate reason for the belief that has often been held that the city was given half rights at an early period. It may well have remained an ally until the Social War. Part of Tarquinii's *ager* must have been taken away when in 181 a citizen colony was established at its port Graviscae. Subsequently Tarquinii was enrolled in the same tribe as Graviscae (the *Stellatina*) and the two places seem later to have been under the same officers [7]. Roman Tarquinii, to judge from the inscriptions and the remains of walls, baths, and one or two other buildings, was a town of not inconsiderable size. These Roman remains are on the neighboring hill known as La Civitá from which the inhabitants were driven by the Saracens in the ninth century. After that they settled on the site of modern Corneto, a spot that may have been the original site of the Etruscan city [8].

No undoubted temple remains have been found. Of unauthenticated discoveries of terracotta decoration only a third century antefix found below the city of Tarquinii to the north on a site that seemed to give evidence of some sort of structure of the same period can be definitely located. Like similar decorations from Falerii, it prob-

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with Faliscans and Tarquinienses. Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Painting* 53, compares these priests with the demons of the underworld depicted in Etruscan Art. See also the figure with snakes in his hair and hands represented on a wall of the *Tomba del Tifone* at Tarquinii, Poulsen, *op. cit.* 58, fig. 45.

[7] Cf. 3367 cur (ator) r. p. Tarquiniens. et Graviscanor. (230 A. D.). Graviscae has provided no evidence for cults. In spite of Vergil's reference to Graviscae as an ancient city (*Aen.* X 184) it is very doubtful whether an Etruscan town existed on the site.

[8] Cf. Pasqui *Notizie* 1885, 513-524, who argued that the earlier city lay on the site of Corneto and suggested that Tarquinii may have been forced like Falerii and Volsinii to move its location. His results have been accepted by Nissen 329ff. and by Pernier, *Notizie* 1907, 352, but recently they have been opposed by Cultrera, *Notizie* 1920, 270ff.

ably came from a temple along a road outside the town, a shrine that might have been used both in Etruscan and in Roman times (*Notizie*, 1902, 393-395). Several antefixes from the site where Roman Tarquinii lay have lately been published [9]. Other fragments, the exact provenience of which is not recorded, are today in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. The later town site has a few ruins that may belong to temples, one of which on the highest spot of the town Dennis thought belonged to a Capitolium [10]. A series of *aes grave*, examples of which are found only in the tombs of Tarquinii, has been assigned by Haeberlin to the city. The coins are *asses* with rays and dots or with a boar's head on the obverse and a lance point on the reverse, a *semis* with a ram's head on the obverse and a club on the reverse, and a *quadrans* with dolphin and anchor [11].

SELVANS.

A nude seated figure of a boy who is about to rise, a statuette that was found at Tarquinii and is now in the Vatican, bears on the arm a fragmentary inscription which is evidently an Etruscan dedication to Selvans [12]. This Etruscan god, whose name suggests that he was the counterpart of the Italic Silvanus, is also known from dedications in Cortona, in Sarteano, in the territory of Clusium, and from Carpigna in Umbria [13]. The name form appears as Selva on a statue from Todi in Umbria [14].

[9] Cultrera, *l. c.*; S. B. Luce *Am. Jour. of Arch.* XXV (1921) 266-278.

[10] Dennis, I 425. Cf. *Bull. dell'Inst.* 1829, 197-199; 1830, 73; *Notizie* 1876, 3ff. See Pernier, *Notizie* 1907, 352 on possible temple remains, some of which may perhaps be identical with those mentioned by Dennis.

[11] Haeberlin, *Aes Grave* 276-279, Pl. 92, 5-12.

[12] Fabretti, 2334... nas. velusa... is selvansl... as cver θνεθli clan. From the word *cver* (= *donum*) it is evident that the inscription is votive in character.

[13] On this cult see Pauli, s. v. Selvans, Roscher and Thulin, *Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza* 29ff.

[14] It is very doubtful whether the word *tinas* in the obscure inscription of a vase from Tarquinii (Fabretti, Supplement III 356) indicates a dedication to Tinia, the Etruscan Jupiter, as Pauli believed. Cf. *Etruskische Studien* III 69 and see Deecke, *Etruskische Forschungen* III 335-6, no. 102.

The titles *cechaneri* and *cechase* which occur in inscriptions on the walls of tombs at Tarquinii have been explained as priestly titles but the explanation has often been doubted. The former title occurs in the *Tomba del Tifone* above a group that Poulsen, *op. cit.* 53, identifies as a sacrificial scene.

TARCHON, THE PROTECTING DIVINITY OF TARQUINII.

The first of the three figures on the fragmentary relief found in the theatre of Caere [15] is inscribed Tarquinienses. It represents a bearded man in tunic and toga, the latter of which is drawn over his head after the manner of a priest performing sacrifice. His right hand is raised to his throat, and his left hand holds an object which in the present state of the relief it is impossible to identify. It has been thought to be a book-roll. The figure, like the two attendant figures which bear the inscription [*Vol*]centani and Vetulonenses, must represent the protecting divinity of the citizens whose name is beneath it, and Braun's identification of it with Tarchon the eponymous hero of Tarquinii, is very probable [16]. If the object in the figure's hand is actually a papyrus roll the identification is all the more probable, for according to Lydus (*de Ost.* 3) it was Tarchon who noted down the lore of Tages, the wonderful boy who sprang from the soil of Tarquinii and taught the Etruscans their sacred lore. The book would then belong to the *Etrusca disciplina* which was so important at Tarquinii.

JUNO REGINA, GENIUS IUVENUM TARQUINIENSIUM.

The cult of this goddess is attested by a lead *tessera* which bears the inscription Iunoni Reginae and Genio iuven(um) Tarquin(iensium) with representations of the Genius and a seated figure of Juno [17]. Although there is no other evidence for the worship of the goddess, the fact that in other places, notably at Tibur, and Lanuvium, the *iuvenes* were associated with the most important cults of the towns leads one to believe that this great divinity, familiar in Etruria from her early cult at Veii, and from her appearance in the Capitoline Triad, was very prominent at Tarquinii. Juno Regina probably had here something of the same political character that she had at Veii and that characterized Juno in various Latin cities. From her association with Genius it would seem that Juno Regina in this case is the personification of the female principle of life, in a sense the mother of the *iuvenes* of Tarquinii. There is no closer parallel for this dedication than the inscriptions to the Genius of a man and the Juno of a woman on numerous private monuments. The *tessera* from Tarquinii provides one more support for the view now generally accepted that Genius and Juno are in origin a pair representing the male and female principle of life[18]. One recalls with interest Festus' strange statement that Tages was the son of Genius and the grandson of Jupiter.

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[15] Benndorf-Schoene, *Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranischen Museums*, p. 130, no. 212; Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, p. 96, pl. 32; Helbig, *Führer*³ II 15-16.

[16] Braun, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1842. *Tav. d. Agg. C*, pp. 37-40.

[17] Rostowzew, *Römische Bleitesserae, Klio Beiheft* III (1905) 80.

LIBER PATER.

The cult of the god, very likely private in nature, is indicated by an altar on four sides of which are scenes in relief[19]. On the two small sides are dancing figures of Faunus (or possibly a Satyr), in one case holding a *cantharus* and in the other case blowing on the double flute. On the rear is a youthful figure of Liber after a familiar type of the Greek Dionysos, holding a *cantharos* and a bunch of grapes. A *thyrsus* and a panther beside him make his identity unmistakeable. On the front of the altar stands a bearded figure of the same god, it would seem, with *thyrsus* and fruits, his long garment broken by phallic indications.

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

The priests who took part in the battle against the Romans have been mentioned. They were very probably identical with the *haruspices*, the regular Etruscan *sacerdotes*. At a later period the records of the *haruspices* in Tarquinii give the city its greatest religious importance. It was the place with which the *Etrusca disciplina*, the lore of the Etruscan *haruspices*, is connected in its origin and itwas subsequently the seat of the treasury of the *ordo LX haruspicum*. It was *in agro Tarquiniensi* that the mythical Tages, a boy who combined the beauty of youth with the wisdom of age, sprang from the soil which a peasant was ploughing[20]. The teaching of this boy, which the chief men of Etruria gathered from every section of the land to hear and to write down, formed the basis of the later *Etrusca disciplina.* In one variation of the story it was Tarchon, the eponymous hero of Tarquinii, who wrote down the lore (Lydus *de Ost.* 3) ; in still another, Tarchon seems to be confused with Tages[21]. Only in Festus's statement (p. 492 L) that Tages was the son of Genius and the grandson of Jupiter is there any information as to Tages's parentage.

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[18] Wissowa 181-2, with the references given there for the etymological connection of *Juno* and *iuvenis*. Against this view see however J. Whatmough, *Class. Quart.* XVI (1922) 181 ff.

[19] Gerhard, *Arch. Zeit.* 1851, 385-387, Pl. XXXV. The inscription Fabius Fa (3361) is on the front of the altar.

[20] Cicero *de Div.* II 50 ; Censorinus, *de die n.* IV 13 ; Isidorus *Orig.* VIII 9, 34.

Tarquinii must have been one of the cities where the senate required sons of the local nobility to be instructed in the *Etrusca disciplina* and where Roman boys of the aristocracy were sent to learn Etruscan lore[22]. When at a later period the order of sixty *haruspices* was organized as a semi-official Roman priesthood, the preeminence of Tarquinii in Etruscan sacred lore is shown by the fact that it was chosen as the centre of the organization. The evidence for that fact is found in an inscription of Tarquinii which records a *quattuorvir iure dicundo* of the town who was *ex ordine aruspicum LX curatori arcae bis*[23]. Through Bormann's keen discussion of two fragmentary inscriptions of Tarquinii it has been shown that there also existed at Tarquinii a series of *elogia* of writers who were famous for their part in the *Etrusca disciplina.* The *elogia*, Bormann thinks, may have belonged to a sort of Academia of the *haruspices* where statues of scholars and writers devoted to the Etruscan lore were dedicated[24]. The presence of the word *disciplina* in both inscriptions can leave little doubt of their relation to the *disciplina Etrusca*. In one case the name of the man honored is not preserved but in the other inscription (3370) the letters *itio M.* certainly favor Bormann's restoration *M. Tarq*]uitio M. [*f. Prisco*, and accordingly his identification of the man in question with M. Tarquitius Priscus who is several times referred to as a writer of the *disciplina Etrusca*[25]. There is one other undoubted record of an *haruspex* from Tarquinii[26] and the tribe *Stellatina* in the Latin-Etruscan bilingual from Pisaurum makes it very probable that the *haruspex* and *fulguriator* there named was a native of Tarquinii[27]. The title *fulguriator* is known only here.

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[21] Strabo V 2, 2. Cf. Thulin s. v. *Etrusca disciplina* Pauly-Wissowa 725.

[22] Cicero *de Div.* I 92 ; cf. Val. Max. I 1; Tacitus, *Ann.* XI 15. Probably it was to learn the *Etrusca disciplina* that the consul's brother had been at Caere *apud hospites* in Livy IX 36.

[23] 3382. D. m. L. Sevi L. f. Stellatina Clementis arispicis vix. ann. XX ex ordine arispicum LX curatori arcae bis III vir iure dicundo [*i*]tem aedili C. Sevius Celsus fratri optimo d. d. f. p. From *CIL.* VI 2161 it is clear that the order also had an office in Rome.

[24] Bormann, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* XI (1887) 94-103 with a tentative restoration on page 103 of the inscription 3370 ; *Jahreshefte des oest. arch. Inst.* II (1899) 129-136, where a second inscription (7566) in Bormann's possession is published and discussed. Its discovery made necessary certain changes in the restoration of the earlier inscription. The first inscription (3370) reads : ...itio M... M. comi... mina arus a... Jovis et Iustitiae et... orandum discipuli... i carminibus edidit... [*gin*]ta annis ampliu[s]... [Pri]scus trib. mil... Priscus ; the second (7566) ...rales di... post o... discipuli... Etruscus t... per Priscum... ndumqu. It is evident that the last

A *flamen* who was also a municipal *quattuorvir* is recorded in one inscription (3371). A *praetor Etruriae* is known from a second century inscription of a man who had gone through a regular consular cursus (3364).

lines of the two inscriptions were identical and that they read something like this: Etruscus tribunus mil(itum) per Priscum... ndumque curavit. That is, a certain man whose *cognomen* was Etruscus had the *elogia* and presumably the statues set up through the agency of Priscus.

[25] Cf. Pliny *H. N.* list of sources for books II and XI; Macrobius, *Sat.* III 7,2; III 20,3; Ammianus Marcellinus, XXV 2, 7. Cf. Bormann, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, XI 96-98 with the comments there on the words *carminibus edidit* of 3370. Cf. Bormann's later and very probable belief that Tarquinius Priscus was a native of Veii, *Jahreshefte* II 133.

[26] 3390 L. Papinio L. f. Latroni harispi v. a. LXIII.

[27] 6363. [L. Ca]fatius L. f. Ste(llatina) haruspe[x] fulguratior; cafates lr. lr. nets'vis trutnvt frontac. The Etruscan equivalents for the two Latin terms are interesting. See Thulin's comments on the inscriptions s. v. *haruspices*, Pauly-Wissowa 2432.

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8. VOLSINII AND ITS TERRITORY; *ORVIETO*.

Volsinii is not mentioned in the annals of Diodorus. In Livy (V. 31-32) we find it referred to first two years before the Gallic catastrophe when, in alliance with the neighboring town Salpinum, its army invaded Roman territory and was defeated with slight difficulty [1]. It evidently took part in the great Etruscan war of 311 to 308, for in 310 Livy says that the consul Decius captured *Volsiniensium castella aliquot* (Livy IX 41). Again in 294 it joined the other Etruscan cities against Rome and suffered a defeat which resulted in a Roman triumph and a forty year truce [2]. Another triumph over the Volsinienses is recorded in 280 [3]. In 265 its citizens appealed to Rome for aid against their slaves (more probably their serfs) who had usurped the supreme power in the city (Zonaras VIII 7). The Romans intervened and won a victory for which the consul M. Fulvius Flaccus was granted a triumph. As a significant result of this war it is recorded by Zonaras that the consul destroyed the city and resettled in another place the citizens and such of the slaves as were of use to their masters [4].

Among Etruscan cities Volsinii is designated as ἀρχαιοτάτη

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[1] Probably to an earlier period is to be referred the destruction of Volsinii by a thunderbolt recorded by Pliny *N. H.* II. 139-140; cf. Tertullian, *Apol.* 40; *ad nat.* I 9.

[2] Livy X 37 where Perusia, Arretium, and Volsinii are mentioned as *tres validissimae urbes Etruriae capita*. Cf. *Fasti Trium.* for 294.

[3] Cf. Livy, *Periocha* XI; *Fasti Trium.* for 180.

[4] Florus I 16; Val. Max. IX I; Orosius IV 5; Zonaras VIII 7; *Fasti trium.* for 264. Perhaps the Roman democracy was interested in urging Volsinii's serfs to revolt.

(Zonaras, *l. c.*), opulentissima (Pliny *N. H.* II 139; Florus I 16), florentissima (Orosius IV 5), Etruriae caput (Val. Max. IX 1). In spite of Zonaras's epithet ἀρχιοτάτη, its antiquity may be doubted, for these allusions to it can hardly be referred to a period earlier than the fourth century B. C. But its wealth is further attested by the statement that the real cause of the final war against Volsinii came from a desire to secure 2000 statues from the city [5]. Its subsequent importance is evident from the fact that in Roman imperial times it was the place where the Etruscan league gathered every year for their annual religious celebrations (*CIL.* XI 5265). This fact provides the only reason for the belief generally held that its territory was originally the site of the *fanum Voltumnae* which Livy several times mentions as the meeting place of the Etruscan league in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. [6]. The town is also known by a series of gold coins inscribed Velsu and Velznani that date shortly after 300 B. C. The coins are interesting because they are based on the Roman Campanian ratio of 15 to 1 for silver established in 312. They show the close economic connection of the region with Rome [7]. One of Volsinii's citizens is almost certainly to be recognised in Laris Papathnas Velznach of the famous battle scene in the fourth century tomb painting from Volci in which Cneve Tarchu Rumach is a prominent figure [8]. The city's economic importance is indicated by the fact that the mill (*moles versatiles*) was said to have been invented there (Varro ap. Pliny *N. H.* XXXVI 135).

Of Volsinii's political status nothing is known. Although it is not listed among the allied cities that contributed to Scipio's equipment in 205 there seems no adequate reason for the assumption often made that it was incorporated by Rome with half rights after 265 [9]. It may well have remained an allied city until much later. Numerous inscriptions attest its municipal organization and its cults during imperial times.

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[5] Pliny *N. H.* XXXIV 34. Signa quoque Tuscanica per terras dispersa quin in Etruria factitata sunt, non est dubium. Deorum tantum putarem ea fuisse, ni Metrodorus Scepsius, cui cognomen a Romani nominis odio inditum est propter MM statuarum Volsinios expugnatos obiceret.

[6] See discussion of the Etruscan League under the Empire.

[7] Cf. Sambon, *Monnaies ant. de l'Italie* I 14; Head, Historia Nummorum^2 12, Danielsson, *CIE.* II pp. 1-2; Haeberlin, *Zeitschr. für Numismatik* XXVI (1908) 229-272.

[8] Schulze (566) has shown that this name is to be applied not to Volci, as has been generally believed, but to Volsinii. Cf. Danielsson *l. c.*

It is extraordinary that we should be in doubt about the site of so important a city as Volsinii. The Roman town unquestionably lay in part on the site of modern Bolsena on the lake of the same name (Lacus Vulsiniensis) extending up the slope to the north and northeast [10], but, as we have seen, Zonaras, interestingly enough the same authority who gives us similar information about Falerii, indicates that the town was moved in 264. In the absence of extensive Etruscan remains near by, the suggestion of Karl Otfried Mueller that Etruscan Volsinii occupied the splendid site of Orvieto nine miles from Bolsena has obtained wide acceptance [11]. Certainly the almost impregnable rock of Orvieto, perhaps the most remarkable site in Etruria, with its fine necropolis and extensive temple remains, was once occupied by an Etruscan city of importance. Moreover the name *urbs vetus* of which Orvieto's modern name is a corruption, although it is not attested before the fifth century of our era (Nissen 337), suggests that we have to do with an abandoned town that had once been important. Against the suggestion that Etruscan Volsinii lay there may be urged first the distance between the old and the new city which would have made it difficult for the town to retain its temples on their earlier sites, as was done at Falerii where the two towns were only three miles apart; second, that inadequately explored remains of an Etruscan necropolis with a number of inscriptions [12] found in the vicinity of Bolsena and the fragments of a tufa wall which Gamurrini found on the hills above Bolsena prove that there was, at least as early as the 6th century, an Etruscan settlement of some importance much nearer than Orvieto[13]. Finally — a point which has been urged by Professor Perali[14] of Orvieto — the absence of walls on Orvieto's naturally protected site accords ill with Zonaras's description of Volsini — οἱ ἀρχαιότατοι Τυρσηνῶν ὄντες ἰσχύν τε περιεποιήσαντο καὶ τεῖχος κατεσκεύασαν ὀχυρώτατον[15].

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[9] Nissen (339) thinks this probable. Against his view of the status of Etruscan cities see Frank, *Klio* XI (1911) 376ff.

[10] For the extent of the Roman city see Gamurrini, *Notizie* 1903, 357ff., 374; Gábrici *Mon. Ant.* XVI 1906, 169ff.

[11] Mueller-Deecke, *Etrusker* index, s. v. Volsinii; the view has been accepted by Körte, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1877, 175ff; Gamurrini, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1881, 28ff; Nissen, 338, and Bormann, *CIL.* XI p. 424. It is on the whole favored by Danielsson *CIE.* II 1. p. 3.

[12] *CIE.* 5153-5194. The information as to exact provenience is often inconclusive; the inscriptions seem to have been discovered over a wide area. Many of the Etruscan inscriptions found earlier have apparently been lost. Cf. Adami's statement (*Storia di Volseno*, Rome 1737, II 202) quoted by Danielsson p. 87. The tombs (cf. Gábrici *Notizie* 1906, 59-70) contain much bucchero and some interesting geometric ware decorated in white on a reddish ground with concentric circles, dots, etc. The tombs so far explored show a marked absence of foreign importations.

It is to my mind very probable that Gamurrini, like Dennis before him,[16] is right in the belief that Volsinii was moved only the short distance from the heights above to the lake shore. The Roman amphitheatre which lies above the modern town would then have encroached on the precincts of the Etruscan city. In that case it is worth noting that, since no shaft graves have so far been found on the site, Volsinii would seem to have been settled later than most other important Etruscan cities[17]. The absence of imported ware in the tombs so far explored is also marked. But until further explorations have been made to settle the vexed topographical problems of this area, the possibility must be left open that we have in the earlier Etruscan settlement here simply one of the *castella Volsiniensium* to which Livy makes reference. Whether Orvieto is a *castellum* of Volsinii's territory or is to be identified with the town Salpinum mentioned only once (Livy V 31-32), and then as an ally of Volsinii against Rome, it is impossible to decide, but the latter view seems more probable[18].

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[13] Gamurrini, *Notizie* 1896, 324-5 where this able student of Etruscan topography gives up his earlier view of the identity of Volsinii with Orvieto.

[14] Perali, *Orvieto Etrusca, Boll. d. r. Dep. di Storia Patria per l'Umbria* XI (Perugia 1905) 5-52. See also Pais's argument against Orvieto as Etruscan Volsinii, *Storia critica di Roma* II 47.

[15] Procopius's slightly exaggerated statement, (*Bell. Goth.* II 20) that the town of Orvieto had never had fortifications since the site was by nature impregnable is interesting in this connection.

[16] Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries* II 23ff. This site is also favored by Kiepert, *Formae Orbis Antiqui* Pl. XX.

[17] Abundant early discoveries have however been made across the lake at Capodimonte. See discussion of Visentium.

[18] It is tentatively accepted by Kiepert and Pais *l. c.* and by Philipp, s. v. Salpinates, Pauly-Wissowa.

Within the town of Bolsena, near the Castello and just above the Piazza di San Giovanni were found a series of small stone objects that were identified by Gamurrini as altars. (*Notizie* 1882, 263-4). Their bases are square, they are hollowed out within, and are shaped above like a truncated pyramid. Etruscan inscriptions on two of them containing the word *tinscvil*, the Etruscan equivalent of ἀνάθημα,[19] votive offering, support the suggestion. The words *tinia tinscvil* on one of the altars connect the offering with Tinia, the Etruscan Jupiter[20]. Two similar altars dedicated to Tinia are known from Orvieto[21]. With these altars were found terracotta fragments that must have belonged to the decoration of a temple — feet and hands and a woman's head which seems to have been part of an *akroterion*. On the same spot were said to have been found at an earlier period a series of small votive figures in bronze.

In the room set aside for Volsinii in the Museo Topografico of the Archaeological Museum in Florence is a series of terracotta antefixes that were found somewhere in or near Bolsena. They belong to the third century B. C. They are fragmentary figures, several of which have inscriptions beneath them[22]. One of the fragments, containing a figure of Minerva in vigorous movement, clearly recognized by aegis and helmet, attended by a female figure in a long garment, is inscribed mera cilens. Mera, a form found also on an Etruscan mirror[23], is obviously a variant of the Etruscan name Menrva for Minerva. Cilens, a name that occurs three times on the bronze " liver " of Piacenza, has been identified with great probability by Thulin as the Etruscan goddess of fate, the equivalent, though there is a difference in gender and number, of the Favores opertanei of Martianus Capella's account of the Etruscan pantheon[24]. The word

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[19] On the meaning of the word see the references quoted by Danielsson *CIE*. 4919. It occurs in inscriptions of Bolsena, Cortona, and Arretium.

[20] *CIE*. 5168. tinia : tinscvil s asil ; sacni. 5159 [t]inscvil.

[21] *CIE*. 4919-4920. See discussion of Orvieto. Evidently the type was characteristic of the region for near by at Bagnorea was found a similar hollow altar with an altogether different inscription, in this case quite unintelligible (*CIE*. 5195, with Danielsson's comments).

[22] Brunn, *Ann. dell'Inst*. 1862, 274-283, with illustrations. *Mon. dell'Inst*. VI and VII. Tav. 72. Cf. Milani, *Il reale Museo Archeologico di Firenze* I 241.

[23] Gerhard-Körte, *Etruskishe Spiegel* V. 101 f, Pl. 84. 1.

[24] See Thulin's careful argument, *Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza* 36-40.

Θuluter (*CIE.* 5180) beneath two figures of men clad in the *pallium* has been interpreted by Milani as a reference to the Dioscuri, but the question is very doubtful, as are also the inscriptions on two other fragments[25]. There is no indication as to the cult to which the temple was devoted.

Remains of a temple of Apollo are said to have been discovered at Bolsena. With this temple, attested on very insufficient evidence, is associated a round disk which Gábrici thinks belonged to an altar that had on it a representation of an *omphalus*[26]. But the whole identification is very doubtful.

A shrine found to the north of Volsinii that is believed to have been dedicated to Nortia will be discussed later.

The discovery of what seemed to be the base of a temple built about the third century B. C. and later rebuilt is recorded by Gábrici on the road between Bolsena and Monte Fiascone. (*Notizie* 1906, 73). There is no clue to its identity.

VORTUMNUS.

The god is not recorded in the inscriptions of Volsinii, but he is associated with the town by Propertius (IV 2, 3), and there is evidence to show that his worship was brought to Rome from this Etruscan city. He is called by Varro (*L. L.* V 46) *deus Etruriae princeps*[27].

In the Roman official cult there are few clearer cases of *evocatio* than the worship of Vortumnus. The god had a temple on the Aventine for which the *Fasti* record August 13 as the dedication day[28]. In this temple there was a statue of M. Fulvius Flaccus in the garb of triumph[29]. There can hardly be any doubt that this was the same M. Fulvius Flaccus whose triumph over the Volsinienses is attested for his consulship in 264 when the famous servile war was brought to an end at Volsinii [30]. The conqueror seems then to have founded in Rome a temple of this prominent divinity of the vanquished city.

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[25] *CIE.* 5179-5182.

[26] Adami, *Storia di Volseno* (Rome, 1737) 210. Gábrici, *Notizie* 1906, 91-93. Cf. also Stevenson, *Römische Quartalschrift* II (1888) 330.

[27] On the cult of Vortumnus see Wissowa 287f. where all the material on the subject is assembled.

[28] *CIL.* I 1², p. 325.

[29] Festus p. 228 L. pictum in aede Vertumni et Consi quarum in altera M. Fulvius Flaccus, in altera L. Papirius Cursor triumphantes ita picti sunt.

There was moreover an ancient bronze statue of Vortumnus in the Vicus Tuscus, which, according to Propertius, left its native town Volsinii *inter proelia* [31]. Since we have already seen that the acquisition of Volsinii's 2000 statues was given as a motive for the war of 265-4, it is likely that this statue also was brought to Rome at that time, though Roman antiquarians attributed to it a much more hoary age [32]. The choice of the Vicus Tuscus as the place for its erection is a further comment on the god's Etruscan origin which Propertius and Varro proclaim. The only evidence for the god's appearance comes from Ovid's reference to him as youthful (*Metam.* XIV 766).

The very natural association of Vortumnus with *vertere* led to various explanations of his name, among which the one that connects him with *annus vertens* and would regard him as a deity of spring probably comes nearest his real nature [33]. The god's well attested Etruscan origin led Schulze (252) to suggest that he was in reality a *gens* god, even though close parallels for his name are lacking among Etruscan families. But it is more probable that the connection with *vertere* is correct and that he was an Italic divinity whom the Etruscans made their own. In this connection it is noteworthy that the evidence for his cult, all of which is imperial in date, comes not from Etruria but from Rome (*CIL.* VI 803), Canusium in Apulia (IX 327), Ancona in Picenum (IX 5892), Tuder in Umbria (XI 4644a), Segusio in the Cottian Alps (V 7235), and Philippi in Macedonia, (III 14206) [34].

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[30] This was first pointed out by Jordan, *De Vortumni et Consi Aedibus Aventiniensibus, Festschr. v. Königsberg z. Jubil. d. arch. Instituts*, 1879.

[31] Propertius, IV 2, 2-4, (in the entire poem the god is represented as speaking):

> Tuscus ego Tuscis orior, nec paenitet inter
> proelia Volsinios deseruisse focos.

[32] According to Varro, *L. L.* V 46 and Propertius IV 2, 49ff., the Vicus Tuscus was originally settled by Tuscans who came to Rome to aid Romulus against Titus Tatius. The evidence for this statue of Vortumnus is given by Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, I 2, 373-4.

[33] Cf. the passages quoted by Wissowa 288.

[34] Milani's efforts *Notizie* 1895, 243 (cf. 1887, 272) to identify Vortumnus with

NORTIA.

Tertullian, quoting from Varro, mentions Nortia as a special divinity of Volsinii who had no place in the official Roman cult[35], and Juvenal refers to her as the protecting diviinty of Sejanus who came from Volsinii[36]. According to a statement which Livy quotes from the antiquarian Cincius, she had a temple at Volsinii in which, as in the cella of Minerva of the Roman Capitolium, a nail was driven every year to indicate the passing of time[37].

Three inscriptional records of the cult have been found at Bolsena. One of them, a dedication, reads as follows (2685) D(eae) N(ortiae) M(agnae) S(anctae) C. Larcius Agathocles vot (um) sol(vit). Another (2686) addressed to Di Deaeque was set up by Primitivus Deae Nort(iae) ser(vus) act(or)[38]. Still another (*Notizie* 1903, 366) perhaps records a c[urator] [T]empli deae N[ortiae]. Furthermore an hexameter dedication to Nortia was found at Rome on the tomb of a poet Rufius Festus Avienus[39] whose pride in his origin is clear from the words :

Nortia te veneror Lari cretus Vulsiniensi.

This inscription attests Nortia's cult as late as the third century after Christ.

Cautha, the god whose prominent position in the bronze liver from Piacenza seems to indicate his preeminence, are pure theory. Cf. Thulin, *Die Götter des Martianus Capella, etc.* 52).

[35] Tertullian, *Apol.* 24 ; *ad. Nat.* II. 8.

[36] Juvenal. *Sat.* X, 74-5 si Nortia Tusco favisset.

[37] Livy VII, 3, 7, Volsiniis quoque clavos indices numeri annorum fixos in templo Nortiae, Etruscae deae, conparere diligens talium monumentorum auctor Cincius adfirmat.

[38] This man, Dessau suggests (*Inscr. sel.* 4036), is very possibly identical with Primitivus r(ei) p(ublicae) ser(vus) act(or) of 2714.

[39] *CIL.* VI 537. R(ufius) Festus v(ir) c(larissimus) de se ad deam Norti[am].

Festus, Musoni suboles prolesque Avieni
Unde tui latices traxerunt, Caesia, nomen
Nortia, te veneror, Lari cretus Vulsiniensi
Romam habitans, gemino proconsulis auctus honor[e]
Carmina multa serens, vitam insons, integer aev(u)m,
Coniugio laetus Placidae numeroque frequenti
Natorum exultans, vivax sit spiritus ollis !
Cetera composita fatorum lege trahentur.

The nature of the goddess's cult is indicated by the scholiast's statement that Fortuna is referred to in the passage mentioned from Juvenal[40], which finds confirmation in Martianus Capella's allusion to Nortia as if she were practically equivalent to Tyche[41]. In the cult of a divinity resembling Fortuna the driving of a nail, an act that symbolized the immutability of fate, was very fitting. Fortune's attendant Necessitas with her *clavi trabales* is familiar from Horace's lines (*C.* I 35, 17-19):

> Te semper anteit saeva Necessitas,
> Clavos trabales et cuneos manu
> Gestans aena etc.[42].

On an Etruscan mirror there is a representation of Atropos, one of the Parcae, standing above Meleager and driving a nail into the boar's head, thus indicating the fate that is to overtake him[43].

The form of the goddess's name, its occurrence in inscriptions with *dea*, and the lack of evidence for her cult except at Volsinii, all suggest that Nortia may once have been a *gens* goddess. But if this is the case the family name has left no traces either in Etruscan or in Latin inscriptions[44].

At a site called Pozzarello, three kilometers north of Bolsena, there was excavated in 1904 a rectangular area 37.50 by 43.60 meters in extent[45]. The area was surrounded by a wall, made of blocks of nenfro, that the excavators dated early in the third century B. C. Substructures of later walls gave evidence of repairs early in the Empire. Within the area were found two rectangular troughs lined with blocks of nenfro, both of which served as so-called *favissae* into which votive offerings were thrown. In one corner of the area was a well, 14.50 meters deep and 2.40 meters in diameter, which, since it lacked facings on its interior surface, could not have been used for water but must have had some cult significance. The east corner of the area was at one time covered by a roof. The objects from the shrine can be seen today in the garden of the Archaeological Museum in Florence.

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[40] The comment is, however, confused ; Fortunam vult intellegi poeta, quae apud Nyrtiam colitur, unde fuit Seianus.

[41] Mart. Cap. I, 88. Quam alii Sortem asserunt Nemesimque nonnulli Tychenque quam plures aut Nortiam.

[42] Cf. also *C.* III 24, 5-8:

> Si figit adamantinos
> Summis verticibus dira Necessitas
> Clavos non animum metu
> Non mortis laqueis expedies caput.

[43] Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* III 176 (another case on a coin given by Kiessling-Heinze on Horace *C.* III 24). Cf. also O. Jahn, *Ber. d. säch. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* (1855) 106ff, cited by Wissowa.

[44] On the goddess Nortia see Wissowa, 288 and the two articles by Deecke and Wagner s. v Nortia, Roscher, where very uncertain theories about the origin of the name are discussed.

[45] Gábrici, *Notizie* 1906 70-72 ; *Mon. Ant.* XVI (1906) 169-240.

The shrine had previously been pillaged by clandestine excavators but numerous votive offerings were nevertheless found there. These include a small nenfro altar of the " hour-glass " form that has been recognized as an original Etruscan type[46], many crude vases, some of which are of familiar sacrificial types, bronze objects, conspicuous among which are a fibula of the so-called Gallic type and numerous pairs of forceps, representations in terracotta of internal organs of the body, three gold plaques with the imprint of human eyes in them, bronze statuettes, and coins that range in date from the middle of the third century B. C. to the middle of the third century after Christ. The majority of the bronze statuettes represent a female figure crowned, holding an incense box in the left hand and a *patera* in the right. There was also discovered a fragmentary female statuette, holding a cornucopia in the left hand, a figure that Gábrici identifies with Fortuna[47].

On the basis of this figure Gábrici concludes that the shrine was sacred to " una divinità femminile affine alla Fortuna ". From the terracottas representing bodily organs he concludes that the goddess was a divinity of health and from the well he infers that her cult had a chthonic character. He then proceeds to identify her with Nortia, basing his identification on Nortia's importance at Volsinii, the attested similarity between Nortia and Fortuna, the frequency elsewhere of Fortuna's cult as a divinity of health, and the chthonic character of Nortia's worship which he assumes from her similarity with Atropos.

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[46] Cf. Bowerman, *Roman Sacrificial Altars* 59ff., who however does not mention this example ; E. Douglas Van Buren, *Terracotta Arulae, Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* II 15-51. The fragmentary inscriptions given in *Mon. Ant.* XVI 215, 225, 226 (*CIL.* XI 7276, 7277) seem to represent the names of persons (7276 two women) making dedications.

[47] *Mon. Ant.* XVI col. 203, fig. 30.

Although Gábrici's identification has met with general acceptance, it seems to me far from certain. The importance of Nortia at Volsinii and the fact that the shrine in question seems to have belonged to a goddess are the only strong reasons for assigning this very interesting shrine to Nortia. The fragmentary statuette with the cornucopia may be Fortuna, though it lacks Fortuna's most characteristic attribute, the rudder, but it may equally well be Ceres or Concordia or a number of other divinities. The change in type from the cult image with *stephane*, *acerra* and *patera* to this figure with the *cornucopia* seems rather unlikely. Nortia may well have been a divinity of health as many female divinities in Etruria and Latium seem to have been; but, as at Falerii, various health divinities were doubtless worshipped in the same city. The chthonic elements which Gábrici finds are more doubtful both for Nortia and for this shrine. One would hardly expect to find Nortia's shrine so far from Volsinii.

In any case the shrine represents an important cult centre that was in use from the time when Roman Volsinii was founded. Of special interest are the *favissae* if the name may correctly be applied to them, and the bronze forceps [48], attributes usually belonging to Vulcan which are also found in the votive stips of Juno Lucina at Norba (*Notizie* 1903, 251).

DIANA.

A fragmentary dedication to the goddess [49] and a record of a *collegius Dianes de domu publica* [50] — a member of one of the many burial societies connected with the goddess's cult — are attested from Volsinii.

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[48] Gábrici explains the forceps by the theory that Nortia was identical with Maia (through Bona Dea) and that the forceps came from Maia's close association with Vulcan.

[49] 2682 a. Dia[*nae sacrum*]. The dedication 2683 was found 14 kilometers north of Orvieto, and will be considered under that town.

[50] 2720. D. m. Haevelpisti Beneaccipioni collegius Dianes de domu publica.

SILVANUS.

In what seems to have been a small shrine of the god within the precincts of the ancient city was found the following inscription (2689): S(ilvano) s(ancto) s(acrum) C. Vettius Primitivus basem cu[m] aedicu[la] Silv[ani] rest[ituit]. With the inscription were found fragments of a statue of the god. In the place where statue and inscription came to light Gamurrini (*Notizie* 1882, 264) discovered the remains of an ancient grotto and a natural cistern above which he believed that the *aedicula* stood. A burial college known as the *collegium Silvani Gemini* (an epithet not elsewhere attested for the god) is also recorded at Volsinii [51].

MINOR CULTS.

Several cults are represented by individual *ex voto* dedications that may or may not belong to an official cult. These include CERES [52], the NYMPHS [53], ASCLEPIUS and HYGIA [54], VENUS [55], and FORTUNA [56].

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

A record of an Augustalis (2710a) and a fragmentary dedication to Diva Faustina (*Notizie* 1903, 368) are the only evidence for this worship.

SABAZIOS.

Two bronze reliefs [57] which, as Blinkenberg has shown [58], represent the Phrygian god Sabazios are in the Etruscan Museum of the Vatican. They are generally believed to have come from Bolsena, though the chief reason for the belief seems to be the fact that they were acquired from the Marchese Ravizza along with other objects from Bolsena. In any case the reliefs seem to have come from Etruria. Both of them represent bearded figures with pine-cone and staff surrounded by a serpent. One of the figures wears a Phrygian cap. The other has an eagle on the right shoulder. In relief on his chest is a representation of Mithras tauroctonos with a crater, a ram's head, and an object variously interpreted as a sacrificial cake or a star. The association of Mithras with Sabazios seen here is also found on a marble relief from Tibur representing a sacrifice to Mithras with the words nama Sebesio on the neck of the bull[59].

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[51] 2721. D. M. Iulio Hermeti col(legium) Silvani Gemini fec(it).

[52] 2682. Cerer Sacrum C. Paetius Severu(s) v. s.

[53] 2691. Nympiae Cryseros v. s. *Notizie* 1919, 207 Iulia. (?) Profutura numfabus... votu[m]... posuit.

[54] 2692. A. Y. R. M. V. S. L. M. The first two words I would restore A(sclepio) U(giae), as Hygia's name is written in *CIL.* VIII 2624. The next two letters are not clear.

[55] *Notizie* 1906, 75 (7274) Postuma L. f. Veneri v. s. l. m.

[56] 7273. According to Gaheis's communication to me, Bormann seems to have assigned to Volsinii two bronze lamps with the dedication Flavia Epictesis Fortune d(onum) d(at). See Ritschl, *Prisc. Lat. Monum. Tab.* LXXIV T.

[57] See Cumont, *Textes et Monuments* II p. 259 n. 104a, b. Fig. 97, 98; Helbig, *Führer* I³ p. 405 n. 750, 751.

[58] *Arch. Studien* (1904) 97-98.

OFFICIAL PRIESTS

No regular priests are recorded. There are, however, two *praetores Etrur(iae) XV populor(um)*[60].

The inscriptions further record an *aedituus* whose cult associations are unknown (2710). There is one record of an *Augustalis* who was also *quinquennalis* of the *collegium fabrum tignuariorum* and keeper of the archives of Volsinii and Ferentum (2710 a).

The *iuvenes* are attested for Volsinii by *tesserae* inscribed Nero Caesar and soda(les) Vols(inienses). Heads of Nero and of Mars are to be seen on them[61].

CHRISTIANITY

The subterranean cemetery and chapel of the martyr S. Christina at Bolsena is an important early Christian monument of the region. It has been throughly excavated, and has produced numerous inscriptions (2834-2896) of which the only dated one (2834) belongs to the year 376. There is reason to believe that the cemetery had been in use long before this[62].

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[59] *CIL*. XIV 3566 ; cf. Eisele s. v. Sabazios, Roscher 241.

[60] 2699 ; *Notizie* 1903, 367 (7287) is probably to be restored as Bormann suggested : [praetor Etruriae] XV populor. c[uratori] templ[i] deae N[ortiae]... c]oloniae

[61] Rostowzew, *Römische Bleitesserae*, *Klio*, *Beiheft* III (1905) 80.

[62] See De Rossi, *Bul. Crist.* 1880, 109-143 ; Stevensen, *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1888, II 327-353.

TERRITORY OF VOLSINII.

From the vicinity of Bagnorea, the mediaeval town of Balneum Regis, about 8 kilometers southeast of Bolsena, a few Etruscan and Latin inscriptions were collected. There are moreover a number of Etruscan tombs in the vicinity. There is no evidence that an independent community existed there in ancient times (Nissen 340). Among the inscriptions were dedications to VENUS[63] and CERES[64].

At Canonica between Bolsena and Orvieto was found a dedication in fulfilment of a vow to HERCULES SANCTUS[65].

ORVIETO.

My reasons for believing that Orvieto was not the old city of Volsinii have already been given. It is hard to believe that the flourishing city, indicated by rich remains of temples and tombs on perhaps the finest site in Etruria, was merely one of the *castella Volsiniensium* and it is almost equally hard to identify it with the town of Salpinum known only from a single reference in Livy. Yet there are other splendid sites in Etruria — Volci, Norchia, Bieda, and Suana for instance — that belong to cities about which tradition is almost if not altogether silent. Orvieto's glory, as is shown by the date of its Etruscan inscriptions and of its tombs, richly stored with Attic wares, came at an early period[66]. Its temples perhaps continued, like the shrines of Populonia in Strabo's day, to be used for some time after the site had declined in importance. The terracotta decoration from several shrines, preserved in the local museum and in other museums, notably the Antiquarium in Munich, dates from the fifth to the third century, the largest part being late in date. There is no indication of an independent community on the site in Roman times, but the almost impregnable rock became important again in the post-classical period.

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[63] 2901. Veneri sacrum Arena Procula.

[64] 7272. Deae C[er]eri ex impe[ri]u posuit [C.] Rufius C[*f* *Fe*]stus. Bormann notes that the man who set up this monument seems to be the C. Rufius Festus known from 2698.

[65] 2687. Herculi sancto L. Vibius Legitimus v. s. l. m.

[66] On the necropolis of Orvieto see Körte's important study, *Ann. dell'Inst* 1877, 95-184.

Antefixes, a broken column of stone, and a Doric column of terracotta were found near the churches of San Giovanni and San Giovenale [67]. In a well near by which, it has been suggested, may have been an ancient *favissa*, was discovered one of the altars inscribed *tinia tinscvil*. The church of San Giovenale may perhaps take its name from an ancient temple of Jupiter, the Italic counterpart of Tinia. A similar altar was found under the Duomo.

Near the Pozzo di San Patrizio outside the limits of the ancient town at a site known as Il Belvedere discoveries of terracottas and of a temple were made in 1828 and 1879. Recent exploration has laid bare the temple *podium* on the site and has brought to light numerous terracotta fragments, including an antefix with a head of Silenus and some fine portions of a frieze [68]. An early publication of the work in expected.

In the Via San Leonardo were found a number of architectonic terracottas belonging to a temple. With them was discovered a base of nenfro with an inscription in which the word *turce* seems to indicate a votive offering [69].

Less certain indications of temples have come to light in three other places. Under the Palazzo Gualterio were found terracotta fragments. They included a fifth century slab with representations of Glaucus and two dolphins. Near the church of San Francesco a terracotta slab with a similar representation of Glaucus was discovered [70]. In the restoration of the Palazzo del Podestà there were found fragments of terracotta decoration of fairly late date and pieces of *bucchero* [71].

TINIA.

The only certainly attested cult on the spot is indicated by the two altars already referred to. One is of nenfro and the other of tufa. Like the altars from Volsinii, these are hollowed out within and bear the inscription *tinia tinscvil*, " offering to tinia " (*CIE.* 4919, 4920).

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[67] The most important facts about the earlier discoveries of terracottas are given by Gamurrini. *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1881, 44-54.

[68] *Illustrated London News* Dec. 31, 1921. On the earlier discoveries see Gamurrini, *l. c.*; W. Deonna, *Les Statues de Terrecuite dans l'Antiquité* 141ff.

[69] Minto, *Notizie* 1913, 290-294.

[70] See E. Douglas Van Buren, *Figurative Terracotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium* 39.

[71] Mancini, *Rom. Mitt.* XIII (1898) 192.

SHRINE OF VENUS (?) IN THE CEMETERY OF ORVIETO.

An interesting shrine has been discovered in the necropolis of La Cannicella on the south side of Orvieto's hill[72]. The shrine possessed no building or covered space. It was simply a terrace ten meters broad, protected in the rear by a retaining wall. In the centre of the platform against this wall, probably on the high base found near by, was a large tufa block on which must once have stood the cult image, an archaic Greek statue, less than life size, representing a nude female type. Near by was a water basin with the remains of a water channel. The objects discovered on the terrace were chiefly votive offerings — two pieces of *aes grave* (a *triens* of Rome and a *sextans* of Tuder) ; three small bronzes, one of them of crude early type with no indication of sex, the other two, male figures in mantle, the hands extended in the attitude of prayer ; a small statuette of Herakles of sixth to fifth century type ; numerous architectonic terracottas representing a Gorgoneion ; heads of women, a *phallus;* fragments of Attic Black and Red-figured ware and of Etrusco-Campanian vases. The objects date from the fifth to the middle of the third century. Both Gamurrini and Körte, favoring Orvieto as the site of Etruscan Volsinii, believed that the shrine was destroyed after 264 when the city was moved[73].

Most interesting is the cult statue. It is certainly a Greek original, for, unlike the statues made in Etruria which are all of terracotta or native stone, it is made of island marble. Its closest affiliations are with the Naxian school. The unusual nude female type has been throughly discussed by Körte. From the standpoint of its significance in cult he compares it with the ’Αφροδίτη ἐπιτυμβία whom Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 23) mentions at Delphi : καὶ γὰρ ἐν Δελφοῖς ’Αφροδίτης ’Επιτυμβίας ἀγαλμάτιόν ἔστι πρὸς ὃ τοὺς κατοιχομένους ἐπὶ τὰς χοὰς ἀνακαλοῦνται. In view of the relations between Etruria, notably Caere, and Delphi in the sixth century, it is, as Körte suggests, not impossible that there was direct Greek influence in the introduction of this cult at Orvieto. One recalls the splendid religious rites and games which the oracle of Delphi ordered at Caere as expiation for the slaughter of the Phocaean prisoners. In that case it is not impossible that the statue itself reached Orvieto not, as Körte suggested, as booty from an expedition in Southern Italy, but through direct importation from Greek lands.

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[72] See Körte, *Eine altgriechische Statuette der Aphrodite aus der Necropole von Volsinii* (*Orvieto*) in *Arch. Studien* in honor of Heinrich Brunn, (Berlin, 1893) 1-34 Tafel I.

[73] Originally published by Gamurrini, *Notizie* 1885, 33-39. Thoroughly described and discussed by Körte, *op. cit.*

There is, as far as I know, no parallel in Etruscan cemeteries for a shrine of the cult of the dead. An Italian parallel cited by Körte, the sanctuary of the mother goddess found in the cemetery of Capua, where have been discovered countless terracottas of a *kourotrophos* divinity holding one or more children in her arms, probably had no connection with the cult of the dead[74]. In spite of the identification at Rome of Libitina with Venus (Wissowa 245) one must keep in mind the possibility that in the sanctuary at Orvieto we have a goddess who had no association with the cult of the dead.

TERRITORY OF ORVIETO.

JUPPITER CIMINIUS.

The exact provenience of the dedication to Juppiter Ciminius now in the Museum of Orvieto is unknown, but it probably came from the Ciminian mount and represented the cult of the god who reigned over that height[75].

VENUS VICTRIX.

At the confluence of the Tiber and the Palia was found a dedication to Venus Victrix set up by a member of the Roman army[76].

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[74] Von Duhn, *Bull. dell'Inst.* 1876, 171ff., 1878, 16ff. Körte follows Von Duhn in assuming a connection between shrine and cemetery. See however W. Gurlitt, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oester.* XIX (1896) 18 ; Koch, *Röm Mitt.* XXII (1907) 361 ff. On the votive offerings from this shrine see also J. Whatmough, *Class. Quart.* XVI (1922) 181 ff.

[75] 2688. Aram costituit Jovi Ciminio Acileius Priscus c(um) s(uis) o(mnibus) v(otum) l(ibens) so(lvit).

[76] 7275. Veneri Victrici sa[crum] Cn. Junius Priscus [(centurio ?)] c]oh. VI vig. ex v[isu].

Diana.

Close to the river Chiani near the Castello Parrano about 13 kilometers north of Orvieto was discovered a dedication to Diana[77].

Mithras.

In a vineyard some distance north of Orvieto (the exact location is not clear) was found a dedication which attests the existence of a Mithraeum set up by the same man who made the dedication to Diana[78].

Caesareum and shrine of Apollo Augustus.

East of Orvieto near Castiglione in Teverina (terreno S. Maria in Paterno) in a site that may have been an imperial estate were found two dedications[79], one recording the erection of a *Caesareum*, the other the restoration of a shrine of Apollo Aug(ustus). Imperial freedmen who were *procuratores* were responsible for both of these buildings. *Caesarea* in Italy seem to have been in general private rather than public shrines of the imperial worship[80]. The association of Apollo with the imperial cult is too familiar to require comment.

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[77] 2683. *D*]iana[e sacrum Ti. Cla. Thermodon d. d.

[78] 2684. Soli invicto Mitrhae Tiberius Claudius Tiberi filius Thermodon spelaeum cum signis et ara ceterisque voti compos dedit. See Cumont, *Textes et Monuments* II 122, n. 161.

[79] 7270. *Röm Mitt.* XVIII (1903) 336. Germanus Aug. lib. proc. Caesareum fecit et omni cultu exornavit. 7271. *Röm. Mitt.* XVIII 337 Apollini Aug. Epaphro[*ditus Aug. lib. proc.*] Apollini Aug. Hyacinthus Aug. lib. p[*roc. aediculam vetustate*] delapsam sua pecunia [*refecit*].

[80] Huelsen, *Röm Mitt. l. c.* notes the existence of Caesarea on the Via Campana in the grove of the Arval Brethren, at Ateste (*CIL.* V 2533), Beneventum (IX 1556), the neighborhood of Mutina (XI 948), and Volcei (X 415). There was also one at Neapolis associated with the games ῾Ρωμαῖα Σεβαστά (Dittenberger and Purgold, *Inschriften von Olympia* 56, line 48).

9. OTHER SETTLEMENTS OF CENTRAL ETRURIA.

VISENTIUM.

At Bisenzo on the southwest shore of the Lake of Bolsena lay the Roman town of Visentium, a community known from a corrupt reference in Pliny (III, 52) and from several inscriptions. Etruscan remains have not been found on the site of the town but a necropolis with both cremation and inhumation graves, important Villanova remains, and discoveries that attest importations through much of the sixth century has been unearthed at Capodimonte, a promontory jutting out into the lake four kilometers away[1].

HONOS AND VIRTUS.

An official cult of these two divinities is attested at Visentium by two inscriptions set up, one of them to Honor Visentium, and the other to Virtus Visentium, in honor of M. Minatius Gallus, a *duumvir* of the town, by his wife and his son respectively[2]. The cult of Honos and Virtus, closely related to that of Mars and several times honored in the provinces by soldiers, had two temples and at least one shrine in

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[1] Pasqui, *Notizie* 1886 *passim* ; Milani, *Notizie* 1894, 123-141 ; Quagliati, *Bull. di Paletn. It.* XXI (1895) 166-176.

[2] 2910. Honori Visentium sacrum M. Minati M. f. Sab. Galli II vir i. d. quinq. Artoria Auxesis uxsor viri sui h(onoris) c(ausa) ; 2911. Virtuti Visent sacr. M. Minati M. f. Sab. Galli. IIvir i. d. quinq. Maternus f. patris sui h(onoris) c(ausa) ob dedicationem honorariam vicanis epulum populo crustulum et mulsum dedit.

Rome. The only other evidence of the joint worship of these two gods in Italy is a record of *Ludi Honoris et Virtutis* in Terracina [3].

HERCULES.

In honor of M. Vettius Telesphorus's election as *Augustalis*, a freedman of his set up a dedication to Hercules [4]. The fact that the place for the dedication was granted by decree of the municipal senate probably indicates an official cult.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

A record of an *Augustalis* has been mentioned.

PAGUS BETWEEN VISENTIUM AND TUSCANA.

The following dedication to JUNO REGINA, found about 6 kilometers south of Bisenzo near the road to Toscanella, was set up by the *magistri* of a pagus (2921) : [*Iuno*]ne Regina ...toni P. f. L. Virgini T. f. mag. pag. From the absence of *cognomina* the inscription seems to be early in period.

SUANA.

This town, known from its very interesting Etruscan necropolis, must at one time have been a city of some importance [5]. In literature it is mentioned only by the geographers.

Near here was found a group of small bronze statuettes representing male figures with and without a diadem. They seem to have been of votive character. Their period is determined by the discovery with them of a much corroded Roman uncial as belonging to the middle of the third century B. C. These objects are now in the Archaelogical Museum in Florence [6].

NYMPHAE.

The following *ex voto* gives the only cult-evidence for the region (2679) : Nym(phis) sac(rum) A. Fassidius Justus ex voto.

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[3] Cf. Wissowa, 150-152; Samter s. v. Honos, Pauly-Wissowa, and Ruggiero, s. v. *Diz. Epig.*

[4] 2909. Herculi sacrum ob honorem Augustalit. M. Vetti M. l. Telesphori Hedonicus lib. L. d. d. d.

[5] cf. Dennis, II ch. 1.

[6] Milani, *Notizie* 1885, 65-6; Minto, *Atene e Roma* (1922) 103-119.

SATURNIA.

This inadequately explored Etruscan site, with its splendid situation, its extensive walls, and the traces of a considerable necropolis, apparently acquired its name when a Latin colony was established there in 183 B. C. (Livy XXXIX 55). Its early inhabitants, Pliny tells us, were called Aurini (*N. H.* III 52). Little is known of its history.

Beneath the walls of the city on the northeast have been discovered a number of terracotta votive offering of late republican and early imperial date that indicate the existence of a shrine of a divinity to whom vows for health were made. The fragments include male and female heads, the figure of a child in bandages, parts of the body including hands, feet, genital organs, etc. A few fragments of *aes rude* and some late imperial coins were found with these objects (Milani, *Notizie* 1899, 485-61).

TUTELA, HERCULES, FIDES, FORTUNA.

In the foundations of the church of S. Maria Maddalena in Saturnia was found a travertine block with an inscription that indicates the private cult of a *statio* (7263, Huelsen, *Röm Mitt.* XIX 152): S]tatio loc. . . felix (T)utela Her(c)ules Fides Fortuna hic. Invide qui spectas, h(a)ec tibi poena manet. Fortuna is elsewhere united with Tutela (*CIL.* VI 177, 179, 216). The pentameter which closes the inscription Huelsen would refer to a *fascinum* which was probably beneath it on the wall of the *statio*.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

Inscriptions of *seviri Augustales* include a dedication to Tiberius dated 15-16 A. D. (2647), a third century record mentioning the organized body under the two terms *seviri Augustales* and *Augustales* (2650), and a record referring to *munus seviratus* (2653)[7].

COLONIA HEBA.

Near Magliano in the province of Grosseto there was recently found the following inscription: Genio coloniae Hebae Q. Peternius Amphio VIvir August. d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) d(edicavit) idem po(pulo) cru(stulum) et mul(sum) d(edit)[8]. As Minto has shown, we have here the Ἥβα or Ἤβα in the form of which the manuscripts of Ptolemy vary[9]; very likely too the Herbanum of Pliny's list of Augustan communities is identical. The territory shows remains of a necropolis with chamber tombs that go back to the seventh century. In this region was found the famous lead inscription which, next to the bronze liver of Piacenza, is the most extraordinary monument of Etruscan ritual that has come down to us. Here too probably belong three inscriptions (2644-6) which Bormann lists under Poggi Alti. The region seems originally to have been under the dominion of Volci and was probably ceded to Rome after Rome's victory over that city in 278 B. C.[10]. Just when the colony of Heba was established it is impossible to determine but from the fact that no such colony is mentioned in Pliny's list it is evident that Augustus was not the founder.

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[7] 2651 also refers to *seviri Augustales* as a body.

The most important religious document of this site, the lead inscription now in the Museo Archeologico in Florence, on which are decipherable the names of a number of Etruscan gods, probably came from a shrine. It is recorded that a similar lead inscription was found there some years earlier and was melted to make shot[11]. The text of the inscription preserved is probably of ritualistic significance; it is however of interest rather for Etruscan religion in general than for local cults. It is dated by Körte in the sixth century B. C.[12].

HERCULES.

Perhaps to this community belongs the dedication that Bormann lists under Poggi Alti (2644): C. Muti et M. Mu. do(num) dat Her(culi) lib(ens).

GENIUS COLONIAE HEBAE.

The dedication to the Genius of the colony has already been discussed.

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[8] *Notizie*, 1919, 200, and Minto's discussion, 199-206.

[9] Cf. Minto, *l. c.* 201.

[10] Cf. Minto *l. c.* 205.

[11] Cf. Milani, *Mon. Ant.* II, 44.

[12] Körte, *Röm. Mitt.* XX (1905) 369; cf. Minto, *l. c.* 202.

The dedication to the Genius of the colony was set up by a *VIvir Augustalis*. Three other men holding that title are recorded in 2645 which belongs to the same region.

TELAMON.

This coast town was perhaps more prominent at an early period than later. Timaeus knew the harbor in the fourth century and a series of coins inscribed *Tla* that probably belong to it indicate its continued existence. For Roman times the region presents remains of villas but no evidence of an independent community. Near here in 225 took place a great Roman victory over the Celts.

The only cult evidence consists of terracotta sculpture from a pediment that decorated a small shrine on the site and collections of armor found with it that probably represent votive offerings. The pediment belongs to the late third or to the second century; the scene protrayed has been plausibly explained by Milani as Amphiaraus being drawn down into the chasm by the Furies. Antefixes and other fragments of the decoration are hardly well enough identified to justify Milani's statement that the temple was a Capitolium. The armor discovered was of gilded bronze. The shrine and the armor found here, as well as another deposit of armor, have been associated by Milani with the victory over the Gauls[13]. A series of small votive pyramids discovered at Telamon has been connected with the cult of Jupiter by Milani who recalls the altars of Volsinii and Orvieto with the designation tinia tinscvil [14].

VOLCI.

This city, whose necropolis, in material from the 6th and 5th centuries B. C., is the richest and most extensive that Etruria has produced, must at one time have been of great size and importance. In 1856 it was estimated that since the first graves were opened in

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[13] See Milani, *Il Reale Museo Archeologico di Firenze* I 257-261; on the armor, *Studi e Materiali* I 125-143. On the terracotta decoration see Galli, *Fidia in Etruria, Mon. Ant.* XXVII (1922) 205ff.

[14] Milani, *Il Reale Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, 259.

1828 some 15,000 graves had been discovered. The excavating, conducted solely for the sake of plunder, was the most ruthless and unscientific of Etruria[15]. Nearly every museum of Europe and many in America boast today splendid Attic vases that were found in the graves of Volci. Here too was found the painted tomb adorned with a scene of combat between Mastarna and Cneve Tarchu Rumach.

The literary evidence for the town would not lead one to believe in its great prominence among Etruscan cities. It is definitely known only from a record in the *Fasti* of a triumph over the Volsinienses and Volcientes in 280 B. C. and from the consequent establishment, seven years later, of the citizen colony, Cosa, apparently in territory taken from Volci[16]. But that it was actually one of the twelve cities of Etruria is shown by the fact that one of the figures on the famous relief found in the theater of Caere is labelled V[*ol*]centani. References in the geographers and a few inscriptions attest the continued existence of the site in Roman times[17].

When Dennis visited the city there was to be seen on the site (I 444), " the wreck of a small temple with *cella* and niches still standing and the statues of its divinities and the columns which adorned it lying in shattered fragments around ".

PROTECTING DIVINITY OF VOLCI.

The goddess under whose figure on the relief from Caere appears the word V[*ol*]centani is seated on a throne and holds a flower in her extended right hand. She is certainly closest in type to Venus and has generally been identified as such. It is probable that she was the protecting divinity of the city[18].

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[15] See the description of excavations there which Dennis gives, I 450.

[16] Pliny *N. H.* III 51 Cosa Volcientium a populo Romano deducta ; cf Vell. I. 14, 7.

[17] See Mueller-Deecke, *Etrusker* I 381 for the discovery at Volci of a large vessel full of coins. They were found in 1828 and Mueller suggests that they were from a temple.

[18] A gem from Volci representing a figure with a trident and the inscription Neθunus is rather doubtful cult evidence. See Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I. XVII, 12; Thulin, *Die Götter des Martianus Capella* 25.

TERRITORY OF VOLCI.

Near Canino about twelve kilometers west of Volci was found a statue of Apollo, which now seems to have disappeared, and with it a dedication to APOLLO SANCTUS, set up by a proconsul[19].

COSA.

This town, originally in the territory of Volci, may not have existed before a Latin colony was founded there in 273 B. C.[20]. The extensive walls of rough masonry seem to date after the founding of that colony as do also the bronze coins inscribed Cozano. The town is rarely mentioned[21].

Traces of possible foundations which he suggests may have belonged to the Capitolium were noticed by Dennis on the acropolis (II 252) but there is nothing to identify them.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

One of the earliest records of *magistri Augustales*, a dedication to Augustus made during his lifetime, comes from Cosa (2631).

PORTUS COSANUS.

Cosa's port, the portus Cosanus, known also as Portus Herculis, keeps a trace in its modern name Porto d'Ercole of a cult that must once have been prominent there.

VETULONIA.

From its inclusion in the list of cities that combined against Tarquinius Priscus (Dionysios III 51) and from the figure marked Vetulonenses on the relief from Caere, it is clear that Vetulonia was at one time numbered among the twelve cities of Etruria. Yet it is so rarely mentioned that the form of its name and its site are neither of them definitely established. But its identification with the Etruscan city at Colonna northwest of Grosseto is very probable, although so far no inscription has been found to settle the question[22]. The discoveries of the necropolis which are among the richest, especially in gold objects, that Etruria has produced, are today most important treasures of the Archaeological Museum in Florence. Characteristic of the necropolis is the development from *pozzo* graves to the circular cremation graves known as *tombe a circolo*. The rich discoveries of jewelry and armor in these burials have led excavators to associate them with foreigners and to give them the name *ripostigli stranieri*. They indicate more clearly than the discoveries in any other cemetery of Etruria the sudden arrival of a large foreign element. In one of them was found an iron double axe, about the staff of which were bound six iron rods—extrardinary because it furnishes us with a close model of the Roman magisterial fasces and axe. It is an interesting confirmation of Silius's statement about Vetulonia[23]:

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[19] 2925. Apollini sancto L. Minicius Natalis cos. procos. Africae augur. leg. Aug. pro pr. Moesiae inferioris.

[20] Vell. I 14; Pliny *N. H.* III 51. Cosa Volcientium a populo Romano deducta. This followed the triumph over Volci and Volsinii recorded in the Fasti Triumphales under 280 B. C.

[21] It is doubtful whether any cult significance can be found in the head of Vulcan and the head of Minerva on the obverse of these coins. See Head, *Historia Nummorum*, 16.

> Maeoniaeque decus quondam Vetulonia gentis
> Bissenos haec prima dedit praecedere fasces
> et iunxit totidem tacito terrore securis ;
> Haec altas eboris decoravit honore curulis
> et princeps Tyrio vestem praetexuit ostro.

The absence of material for the fifth and fourth centuries led Milani to suggest that the town was moved at that time[24]. There is however evidence of habitation on the site in Roman times. The bronze coins inscribed Vetluna and Vatl seem to belong here. The former coins have a wheel on the obverse and a circle with anchor on the reverse ; the latter a head of Heracles on the obverse and an anchor or trident with two dolphins on the reverse[25].

Within the city were found the fragments of a terracotta frieze that seems to have adorned a small *aedicula*. The sections preserved include representations of male and female figures, a herm with phallic indications, an altar, and a fountain. They seem to date about the middle of the third century. Here was also found a collection of bronze helmets which may have been deposited in a so-called *favissa* associated with the shrine [26].

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[22] On the necropolis of Vetulonia see Falchi's numerous monographs and articles particularly *Vetulonia e la sua Necropoli antichissima* (1891). See also articles by Milani, Pernier, and Karo in *Studi e Materiali* I-III ; Pernier, *Ausonia* IX (1919) 11ff ; Karo, *Athen. Mitt.* XXXXV (1920) 115ff.

[23] *Notizie* 1898, 157. Cf. Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker* 84-5.

[24] Milani, *Rendiconti della r. Acc. dei Lincei*, 1894, 841ff.

[25] Head, *Historia Nummorum*^{2} 15-6.

NEPTUNUS.

The dolphins, trident, and anchor on the last-mentioned coins provide some support for identifying with Neptune the man with a rudder beneath whose figure is the inscription Vetulonenses on the bas-relief from Caere. He was probably the protecting spirit of the city. It has been pointed out that the pine tree represented behind this man accords well with the pine forests that today clothe the hills about the site of Vetulonia.

HERCULES.

The cult of this god is indicated not only by the coins with representations of him but also by a large bronze club found within the city. It is now in the Archaeological Museum in Florence [27].

RUSELLAE.

This city's presence in Dionysius's list of cities that joined the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus and its inclusion among the Etruscan allies that contributed to Scipio's equipment in 205 provide sufficient evidence to justify us in believing that it was one of the twelve cities of Etruria [28]. Its site is remarkable for the well preserved walls [29]; its necropolis where trench tombs have been unearthed is as yet inadequately explored. In the later tradition it is referred to as at war with Rome in 302 and in 294 B. C. (Livy X 4 ; X 37). It received a colony either from the triumvirs or from Octavian (Pliny *N. H.* III 51).

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[26] Frieze and armor have recently been fully published by Pernier, *Ausonia* XI 11ff.

[27] See Milani, *Il Reale Museo Archeologico di Firenze* I 221.

[28] Dionysius III 51 ; Livy XXVIII 45.

[29] See Dennis, II 222-234 ; Nissen 308.

IUPPITER VICTOR.

A dedication to the god was set up by a *sevir Augustalis*[30].

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

There is a record of a *sevir Augustalis* (2616).

MITHRAS.

A fragment of a statue of Mithras belonging to a group of Mithras Tauroctonos was found at Rusellae and is now in the museum at Grosseto[31].

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

There is a fragmentary record of an *augur* (7250).

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[30] 2616. Iovi Victori sacrum C. Valerius Sporus sevir August. (rest of the inscription indistinct).

[31] Cumont, *Textes et Monuments* II p. 257, n. 99, Fig. 94.

10. CLUSIUM AND ITS TERRITORY.

Clusium occupied an extensive territory which, in the late Etruscan period at any rate, must have been very thickly settled. Its situation was of strategic importance to the Romans for it commanded the approach to the city from the north [1]. Its original name, according to Livy, was Camars [2] and it has been associated with the Camertes in the Umbrian Apennines [3]. The city perhaps came under Etruscan influence rather later than the coast towns but it soon attained wealth and importance as its necropolis shows. It is first mentioned in literary tradition as one of the Etruscan towns that promised aid to the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus (Dionysius III 51). The dominating position of Clusium among Etruscan cities is indicated by the fact that its late sixth century king Lars Porsenna, whose famous attack on Rome [4] was more successful than the annalists are disposed to concede, is several times referred to as king of Etruria [5].

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[1] The extent of the *ager* is easily determined by the distinctive form of the Etruscan grave monuments. See Pauli, *CIE.* I p. 75 who differs from Bormann in regard to the sections included in some parts of the *ager*. Etruscan inscriptions are particularly numerous here (*CIE.* 475-3306).

[2] Livy X 25, 11. Clusium quod Camars olim appellabant. Cf. Polyb. II 19.

[3] Cf. Nissen, 323 ; Huelsen, s. v. Clusium, Pauly-Wissowa ; against the Umbrian connection see Pauli, *l. c.* It is noteworthy that of the 515 Latin inscriptions of Clusium and the immediate vicinity (2090-2604) there is only one occurrence of the characteristic names of the Sabellic-Umbrian stock in *idius*, *iedius* etc. Cf. Schulten, *Klio* II (1902) 172.

[4] Livy II 9 ; Dionys. Halic. V 21 ; Plutarch, *Publicola*, 16ff ; Tacitus, *Hist.* III 72 ; Pliny *N. H.* XXXIV 139.

[5] Cf. Dionys. V 26, 28, 36 ; Flor. I 4 (1,10). Pais, *Storia critica di Roma* II (1915) 97ff. thinks it more probable that the Porsenna of this story came from some

Perhaps Clusium was then the leader of the five cities that desired to join the Latins against Tarquinius. It is significant in this connection that Rosenberg's study of Etruscan inscriptions seems to show that Clusium, like Tarquinii, was at one time the meeting place of the Etruscan league [6].

Tradition is almost unanimous in recording that the Clusini appealed to Rome for aid against the Gauls in 387 [7], although Livy adds (V 35, 4): *adversus Romanos nullum eis ius societatis amicitiaeve erat nisi quod Veientes consanguineos adversus populum Romanum non defendissent.* The story of the Roman envoys sent to the Gauls near Clusium and their infringement of international law in joining forces with the Clusini against the enemy is the familiar explanation of the provocation that led the Gauls to march on Rome. On two other occasions Clusium is mentioned in connection with hostile operations of the Gallic peoples against the Romans [8]. The absence of all mention of it among Rome's Etruscan enemies during the wars of the fourth and early third centuries is hard to understand in view of the numerous inscriptions which show that the region was thickly populated. Of the political status of Clusium nothing is known except that it is listed with the other Etruscan *socii* who contributed to Scipio's equipment in 205 B. C. The town is mentioned often in the wars between Marius and Sulla. From Pliny's allusion (*N. H.* III 52) to the Clusini veteres and the Clusini novi as if they were two separate communities and from the fact that the Clusini erected a statue of Sulla (2102) Clusium is generally believed to have been colonized by Sulla. Although later references are rare except in the geographers, the inscriptions show a community, belonging to the tribe Arnensis, which was by no means insignificant.

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city near by such as Veii rather than from Clusium, but the tradition is too strong to be so easily discounted. For Porsenna's tomb in the form of a great labyrinth beneath the city see Varro ap. Pliny *N. H.* XXXVI 91.

[6] Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker*, 51-71.

[7] Livy V 33ff; Dionysius XIII 11-12; Plutarch, *Camillus* 15ff. Diodorus XIV 113 may preserve the true tradition when he says that the Romans sent their envoys to Clusium not at the request of the Clusini but simply to see what the Gauls were doing. Appian, *Celt.* II, says that the Clusini had previously formed a league with Rome.

[8] Livy X 25; Polyb. II 25.

Except for early Christianity the evidence for cults is very slight in all parts of the extended *ager*. For the early religious history the only evidence is provided by a few Etruscan inscriptions. The most considerable records have to do with gods of health associated with the springs in which the region abounds [9].

MARIS.

This god whose name is familiar from its occurrence on the bronze "liver" of Piacenza, on the lead tablet of Magliano, and on a number of Etruscan mirrors is known from a dedication on a bronze vase from Clusium [10]. He is probably the equivalent of the Italic Mars [11].

THUFLTHAS.

Two small bronze statuettes whose exact provenience in the territory is unknown bear inscriptions that associate them beyond a doubt with this divinity or group of divinities, who, Thulin has shown reason to believe, are equivalent to the Di Consentes [12]. The name occurs in the form θulfθas on the bronze "liver" from Piacenza. Inscriptions of the god are also known from Cortona.

SELVANS.

A nude male statue from Sarteano, now in the British Museum, bears an inscription of uncertain reading which from the name selvan seems to be a dedication to the god [13].

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[9] Cf. Horace *Ep.* I 15, 9, fontibus Clusinis.

[10] Fabretti 807 mi marisl harθ siansl : l eimi. Cf. the interpretation of Torp, *Etruskische Beiträge*, (1902) II 133 who shows strong reasons for believing that sians means father. He translates the inscription, "Dies bringt L. Eimi dem Vater Maris dar", noting the parallel with the familiar title Mars pater.

[11] See Deecke, s. v. Maris, Roscher.

[12] *CIE.* 2340... lautni : Θufulθas... turce. 2341. eiseras θuflθi cvei a. The combination with eiseras, god, found also on another inscription of unknown provenience (aiseras θuflθicla, Fabretti 2603 bis) is strong support for Thulin's identification, *op. cit.* 35.

[13] *CIE.* 1552. vel sapuθnturke selvan... m... al. See Deecke's reading, *Etr. Forsch.* III 411. See Pauli, s. v. selvans, Roscher. Cf. *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum* p. 91 n. 611 where the figure is described as an athlete. "He stands on r. leg looking to his r., with r. hand on hip; in his l. hand he has held some object; he is nude and beardless with smooth hair brushed forward. The figure is dated about the fifth century B. C."

VENUS.

The name of Monte Venere which lies a kilometer north of Chiusi may preserve a record of a temple of Venus. Heights were often sacred to this goddess.

DEI AMBROSIALES.

These gods are mentioned only in an inscription of Clusium which gives no indication as to their character (2095) : Deis ambrosialibus. Vettius Primus d. d. l.[14] The adjective *ambrosialis* occurs only here.

NYMPHAE.

The following inscription on a small bronze tablet was found a kilometer north of Clusium (2097): Sentius [L]ucilianus nymphis aq[uae] Ogulniae d(onum) p(osuit). Subsequent excavations on the spot where it was found revealed a number of water conduits of stone and what seemed to be the remains of a water basin. On the spot were also discovered blocks and parts of an architrave of travertine, four Corinthian columns of marble, and fragments of terracotta decoration, all of which may have belonged to a temple[15].

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

The only evidence of the cult are the records of a flamen Au-g(usti) (2116) who was also *duumvir quinquinnalis* and *aedilis Etruriae* and of a *flamen* assigned to Clusium because of his tribe, the Arnensis (1806).

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

Eight inscriptions of *haruspices* have come to light in the *ager* of *Clusium*[16]. Although these records contain no marked linguistic archaisms, the lack of *cognomina* in every case betrays a date not later than Augustus. Several of the names are important in the onomasticon of Clusium. They show that the Clusini were following the orders of the Roman senate in bringing up a certain number of the sons of the most prominent families in the Etruscan sacred lore (Cicero, *De div.* I 92). The plentiful evidence for *haruspices* at Tarquinii and Clusium may be associated with the fact that the Etruscan league seems to have met at both places.

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[14] Wissowa, s. v. *ambrosiales dei*, Pauly-Wissowa.

[15] Nardi Dei, *Notizie* 1876, 211-213.

[16] 2295 C. Babrius c. f. arhs ; 2296. C. Baebius L. f. arrespex ; 2305. L. Cartilius L. f. harispex ; 2345. Sex Granio harispici Fortunatus l(ibertus) ; 2385. C. Petronius C. f. harispex Crispinia natus ; the three following painted inscriptions come from the unpublished supplements to Vol. XI : 7131. C. Aufid[ius C. f.] haris. Vettia Vaelina natu[s] ; 7132 C. Aufidi C. f. haris ; 7137 [L] Pupi(us) A. f. pat(er) h[a]rispe[x] [An]caria n[at(us)]. See *Notizie* 1900, 9 for the first two.

Praetores XV populorum are mentioned in two records (2114, 2115) and *aediles* of Etruriae in two cases (2116, 2120). Among the inscriptions of Saena is a record of an aedile or praetor of Etruria whose tribe, the Arnensis, makes it probable that he was a native of Clusium (1806). A *flamen Augusti* and a *flamen* have already been mentioned.

CHRISTIANITY.

The importance of the trades at Clusium[17] may in part explain the early appearance there of Christians who were usually drawn from such classes. Two catacombs have been discovered near the city proper, that of S. Catarina near the railroad station a mile southeast of the town and that of S. Mustiola a mile to the east. In the former cemetery the early form of the epitaphs, in many of which the pagan formula d(is) m(anibus) followed by the name in the dative is retained without any of the familiar Christian formulae, indicates a date not later than the third century[18]. In the cemetery of S. Mustiola where the form of the inscriptions is somewhat later, the consular dates 290, 322 and 338 are recorded[19]. The church of S. Mustiola, destroyed in the early eighteenth century, was later built on the spot. According to the *Acta Sanctorum* which here accord with the evidence of the cemetery the saint was murdered under the emperor Aurelian (270-275), the place being given as Clusinam (or in the majority of the manuscripts Eusinam) civitatem Tusciae[20]. Significant from this cemetery is the epitaph of a certain Iulia Avinia Felicissima sanctissima ex genere Mustiolae sanctae (2549). From this catacomb too comes the epitaph of the earliest known bishop of Clusium, P. Petronius Dexter who died in 322 (2548).

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[17] 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136.

[18] 2533-2547a. Cf. Bormann's notes, p. 405. See Harnack, *Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* II (1906) 219-220.

[19] 2548-2582a. Cf. Bormann's remarks, p. 372, 405, 409.

[20] *Acta Sanctorum* under July 3. A certain deacon Irenaeus who was put to death with Mustiola is also mentioned here.

TERRITORY OF CLUSIUM.

Traces of temples have been discovered at Castellaccio and Chianciano. At the former place the temple site is marked by various objects found in a well — a sandstone head of one of the Dioscuri, a Silenus mask and an antefix, both of terracotta, a votive head of the same material, and two small column drums. Near the springs of Chianciano were found considerable fragments of a large bronze chariot with two attendant figures of which little remains[21]. A large half moon found with the fragments has led to the identification of the group as Diana on a chariot accompanied by a charioteer. The mediaeval name of the springs Balneum de Sellena has been thought to preserve evidence of the ancient cult of Selene on the site. Gamurrini believed that there was here a cult of Diana as healing goddess much like the worship of Diana Tifatina near Capua. He gives a vague account of the discovery, some years before he writes, of the ground plan of a wooden temple where the bronzes were found[22]. Milani accepted his identification and associated with the fragments, which are third century work, the wig of an archaic Apollo statue[23] which may today be seen with the chariot group in the Archaeological Museum in Florence[24]. He saw in the fragments the decoration of the pediment of a temple. Aside from the difficulty presented by pediment sculpture in bronze, the identification with Diana seems insufficiently attested and the survival of the name Selene, nowhere else found on Italian soil, is very unlikely.

AESCULAPIUS, HYGIA, APOLLO.

From the Baths of San Casciano which have been used both in ancient and in modern times come dedications to Aesculapius and

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[21] Gamurrini, *Ann. dell'Inst.* 1882, 140-156, Tav. d'Agg. T.

[22] *L. c.* p. 147. He notes the discovery of another wooden temple also in the Val di Chiana some twenty years earlier.

[23] Milani, *Notizie* 1887, 222-227. The statue seems to have been found with the other fragments. He suggests that a hole in the hair may have been intended for the insertion of a light.

[24] Milani, *Il Reale Museo Archeologico di Firenze* 137.

Hygia and to Apollo, doubtless here a god of healing. There too was probably found a dedication to Aesculapius alone[25].

HERCULES SALUTARIS.

A dedication to Hercules Salutaris was found at Monte San Pietro to the east of Clusium[26].

LAR VICTOR.

Near Città della Pieve was found a dedication to Lar victor, a title which occurs only here (2096) : Lari victori sacr. Gavia Statuta, v. s. l. m. Wissowa notes that Lar is here used practically as an equivalent of *deus*[27].

TERRITORY BETWEEN CLUSIUM AND SAENA[28].

IUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS.

At Castelnuovo dell'Abbate was found a dedication to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus[29].

NYMPHS.

A dedication to the Nymphs which comes from Vignone was said to have been found *in templo Nympharum*[30].

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[25] 2092. Pro salute Gai et Pom[po]niae n. libe[roru]m[q]ue eo[rum] Aesculapi[o] et Hygiae sacr. Ephaestas lib. v. l. m. s. 2093. Pro salute Quinti et Triariae n... liberisque eorum Aesculapio sacrum. 2094. Pro salute Triariae n. Apollini sacr.

[26] 7112 (*Notizie* 1886, 6). Herculi Salutari Ti. Claudius Deuto Aug. lib. v. s. l. m.

[27] Wissowa, 170 n. 5. Cf. Laing, *Classical Philology* XVI (1921) 137 ff.

[28] Bormann places this district after Clusium. *CIL*. XI 2594-2604. Pauli thinks that it belongs rather to the *ager* of Saena, although he puts the inscriptons under the title, " Ager Saenam inter Clusiumque situs " (*CIE* I 305-370).

[29] 2600. Iovi o. m. summ. exsuperantis(simo) m (?) T. Sextius Verianus pro salute Corneliani f(ilii) c(larissimi) v(iri) cons(ulis). M seems to denote another epithet of Jupiter. Exsuperantissimus is applied to the god in two provincial inscriptions (Dessau 2998, 3094).

[30] 2595. Nymphis sacr. L. Trebonius Paterni lib. Fortunatus voto posuit signum cum basim et aedem f(aciendam) cur(avit).

MITHRAS.

Near Montalcino was found an important Mithraic inscription[31]. According to this record a veteran of the seventh praetorian cohort left a legacy of 8000 denarii, the interest of which was to provide, on a certain day, oil for a lamp which the veteran had given in honor of Mithras.

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[31] 2596. L. Granius Pudens veter(anus) ex coh(orte) VII pr(aestoria) d(at denarium octo milia) d(e) p(ropio ?) ut gens eos (denarios) in usuris dent et die (nostro ?) festo sollemne oleum in lucerna quem dedi d(e) p(ropio ?) ex usuris praestetur d(eo) i(nvicto) M(ithrae). For d. p. Borghesi's restoration seems the most probable. Mommsen suggested d(eo) p(atrio), Hirschfeld d(ecuriae) p(rimae).

11. PERUSIA AND ITS TERRITORY.

In spite of its situation to the west of the Tiber, Perusia, in its high position commanding a wide view over the Umbrian hills, belonged originally, as tradition has shown, not to Etruria, but to Umbria, of which it has been the chief city in mediaeval and modern times. Although it was long a part of Etruria and was incorporated by Augustus in the seventh region of Italy, the tradition reported by Servius that Perusia was a settlement of the Sarsinates, the great northern branch of the Umbrians[1], receives some support from the comparatively late date of the Etruscan remains. The statement of Appian (*B. C.* V 49) that Perusia was one of the first twelve cities built by the Etruscans in Italy reflects the great importance which it subsequently acquired, an importance abundantly attested by the discoveries made in the extensive necropolis and by the imposing remains of the splendid walls which can hardly be older than the late fifth century[2]. In agreement with the archaeological evidence for Perusia as a late Etruscan site is the fact that the town does not appear in Roman tradition until the great war of Rome with Etruria of 311-308, when Cortona, Perusia, and Arretium are named as *ferme capita Etruriae populorum*[3]. These towns secured a truce with Rome in 310.

The Perusini soon broke their truce and had to be reconquered and garrisoned (Livy IX 40). In 295-4 they were prominent in the

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[1] Servius Dan. on *Aen.* X 201. a Sarsinatibus qui Perusiae consederant.

[2] See Noack, *Röm. Mitt.* XII (1897) 161-200. Cf. C. D. Curtis, *Ibid.* XXIX (1914) 1-6.

[3] Livy IX 37, 12; Diodorus XX 35, where it is stated that Fabius was the first Roman general to invade the region with an army.

Etruscan uprising but were overcome again (Livy X 30-37). The latter conquest, after which Perusia, Volsinii, and Arretium were granted a truce for forty years, was apparently final, and Perusia must shortly afterwards have been accepted as an allied city [4]. As such she furnished a cohort to the Roman army early in the Hannibalic War and assisted the other Etruscan cities in providing Scipio's equipment in 205 (Livy XXVIII 45).

Perusia is next mentioned in 41 B. C. in connection with the rebellion against Octavian fomented by Lucius Antonius and Fulvia, the wife of his brother Marcus. The name Bellum Perusinum has been given to this war from the fact that it was to the stronghold of Perusia that Lucius retired to withstand a siege of some weeks' duration before he was finally forced to surrender [5]. The story of Octavian's sacrifice of three hundred senators of Perusia on the occasion of the surrender will be considered later. The city which Octavian intended to give over to his soldiers to plunder was set fire to by one of its citizens and everything except the temple of Vulcan is said to have perished. The early walls still standing today show that the statement of the destruction of the city cannot be pressed too far. The restoration of the city, which apparently did not occur until some years later, is recorded on four *cippi* with the inscription Augusto sacr(um) Perusia restituta (1923) and in the new name given to the city, Augusta Perusia [6], which may still be read over the ancient gate known as the Arco di Augusto. A change in the name of the chief magistrates from *quattuorviri* to *duumviri* seems to have taken place under Augustus. Under the third century emperor C. Vibius Trebonianus Gallus (251-253) who was a native of Perusia the city received a colony with the name Colonia Vibia Augusta Perusia which may still be read over the Porta Marcia [7]. The inscriptions indicate a community in imperial times which, while not unimportant, must have been inferior both to the earlier

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[4] Livy XXIII 17, 11. Cf. also ch. 20,3.

[5] The chief accounts of the Perusine war are Appian, *B. C.* V. 32-49 and Dio XLVIII 14. For other sources see Gardthausen *Augustus und seine Zeit*, I 2, 93-99.

[6] 1929. From the name Augustus given to the city and from the fact that the inscriptions 1923-4 cited date after 27, when Augustus had received his new name, it is probable that the city was not restored immediately by Octavian.

[7] On the evidence for an earlier colony see Bormann, *CIL*. XI p. 352-3.

Etruscan and to the later mediaeval town. In literature after the reign of Augustus the city is mentioned only by the geographers and by Pliny.

SELVANS.

The inscription larθ selvasl aθnu on an *ossuarium* from Perusia seems to contain the name of the god Selvans who is known from inscriptions found in Cortona, Clusium, and Tarquinii. Pauli suggests that the inscription is to be renderd "Larth des Selvans... *domesticus* or *libertus*"[8].

JUNO.

The cult of Juno at Perusia is attested only by Appian[9] and Dio[10] in their accounts of the destruction of the city by fire after its surrender by Lucius Antonius in 40 B. C. According to Appian Juno, whose cult had been prominent at Perusia as well as in Etruria generally, was displaced as tutelary divinity by Vulcan whose temple alone survived the conflagration. Dio tells us that the statue of Juno was also saved and was taken to Rome in obedience to a vision Octavian had in a dream, and that in consequence of the circumstance he allowed the city to be repopulated. As to the nature of the cult of Juno at Perusia we have only Appian's statement that she was the goddess worshipped by the Etruscans—very probably Juno Regina, whose cult, so important at Veii, was associated with Jupiter and Minerva in the Capitoline Triad. It would be interesting to know the fate of the statue that Octavian took to Rome.

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[8] *CIE*. 446. Cf. Pauli s. v. Selvans, Roscher.

[9] Appian *B. C.* V 49. After stating that Perusia was one of the first twelve cities built by the Etruscans in Italy Appian continues: διὸ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἔσεβον, οἷα Τυρρηνοί· τότε δὲ ὅσοι τὰ λείψανα τῆς πόλεως διέλαχον, τὸν Ἥφαιστον σφίσιν ἔθεντο θεὸν εἶναι πάτριον ἀντὶ τῆς Ἥρας.

[10] Cassius Dio. XLVIII 14, 5-6 καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτὴ πλὴν τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου τοῦ τε τῆς Ἥρας ἕδους πᾶσα κατεκαύθη. τοῦτο δέ (ἐσώθη γάρ πως κατὰ τύχην) ἀνήχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐξ ὄψεως ὀνείρου, ἣν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἶδε, καὶ παρέσχε καὶ τῇ πόλει πρὸς τῶν βουλομένων συνοικισθῆναι, πλὴν ὅτι τῆς χώρας οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ καὶ ἥμισυ σταδίους ἐκτήσαντο. It is impossible to hold from the passage in Dio, as Pais does (*Ancient Italy* 367 ff), that Vulcan and Juno had a common temple at Perusia.

VULCAN.

The evidence for the cult of Vulcan at Perusia is contained in the passages from Appian and Dio already cited. The escape of the temple from the flames was doubtless due to the fact that in accordance with the provisions of the *Etrusca disciplina* the temple of Vulcan lay outside the city walls [11]. The god must have been important at Perusia before the survival of his temple led the people to make him the Πάτριος θεός of the city. Perhaps, before assuming, as he doubtless did, the qualities of the Greek Hephaestus, he was identical with the Etruscan Vulcan recorded by Martianus Capella [12] and referred to by Servius not as the god who forged the thunderbolts but as one who hurled them himself [13]. From the Etruscan family name Velcha, Velcheis, etc., and from the Vel on the bronze "liver" of Piacenza, this god's name has been restored as Velchans [14]. He has been thought to be related to the Cretan Γελχάνος recorded by Hesychius [15] and by coins of Phaestus [16]. But in the absence of any further evidence at Perusia, the only site in Etruria where the cult of Vulcan is attested, no conclusion can be reached as to the nature of the worship.

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[11] Compare Vitruvius I 7. Id autem etiam Etruscis haruspicibus disciplinarum scripturis ita est dedicatum extra murum Veneris Volcani Martis fana... conlocari... Volcanique vi e moenibus religionibus et sacrificiis evocata ab timore incendiorum aedificia videantur liberari. Pais however (*op. cit.* 369) would place the temple within the city, on the highest point, i. e. practically on the site of the cathedral of San Lorenzo.

[12] Martianus Capella I 41-61, esp. 42. Cf. Thulin, *Die Götter des Martianus Capella* 53-4.

[13] Varro ap. Servius Dan. on *Aen.* I 42. Jupiter, Vulcan, and Minerva are mentioned as the gods who hurled the thunderbolt. The god corresponding to the Greek Hephaestus on Etruscan monuments is Sethlans.

[14] Schulze, 377. Cf. Thulin, l. c; Sitting, *De graecorum nominibus Theophoris, Diss. Phil. Hal.* XX (1911) 101-105. Against this point of view see Wissowa, 229, n. 6. Cf. also Constans s. v. Vulcanus, Daremberg and Saglio, and for the best general summary of the evidence, Carcopino, *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie* (Paris, 1919), 90ff.

[15] Hesychius, ed. Schmidt p. 341.

[16] Cf. Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*, p. 259, nos. 29-31 and pl. XXIII nos. 24-26.

HERCULES.

The word [*Her*]culis, apparently an indication of locality in a fragmentary inscription in honor of a citizen who had done much for the public works of Perusia, seems to refer to a temple of Hercules in the city (1946).

DI PENATES.

Perhaps this dedication represents a public cult of the Penates at Perusia (1920): T. Annius L. f. Largi, Dibus Penatibus ob rem militarem votum solvit l(ibens) m(erito).

DI PATRII LARES ET FAMILIAE.

The following inscription on a small bronze tablet now in the Museum of Perusia probably came from the region (7092): Festius dis p(atriis) Laribus et familiae d(onum) d(edit). The combination of divinities honored is unusual. For the Lares et familiae, an expression which implies a personification of the *familia* but cannot be very different in meaning from Lares familiares, a parallel is found in an inscription from Stabiae [17].

MINOR CULTS.

Gods represented by single dedications are JUPITER [18], APOLLO (1916) to whom a dedication is made ob honorem Isidis Aug. by an attendant of the cult of Isis, MARS [19] to whom a marble well-head is inscribed, LYMPHAE [20] who are here as regularly equivalent to Nymphae and SILVANUS [21] whose dedication is said to have been found on the base of a statue which apparently corresponded to the usual Silvanus type.

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[17] X 773. Anteros l. Heracleo summar(um) magistri Larib(us) et famil(iae) d(onum) d(edit).

[18] 1917. C. Masur.... Iovi sup. *Sup.* may be an epithet of the god.

[19] 1919. Marti Aug. sacrum A. Domi[ti]u[s].. f. Tro. Nepos evoc. Aug. testamento poni iussit etc.

[20] 1918. Lymphis sac.

[21] 1921. Silvano sancto L. Visellius Felix cum L. Visellio Felice Iuliano nepote votum solver(unt). The inscription is preserved only by manuscript authority. According to the description, the statue represented a bearded figure crowned with pine holding a branch in his left hand (the description says *palma* but it was probably pine) and having his apron full of grapes and apples. On representations of Silvanus see Peter s. v. Roscher 824ff.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

According to accounts reported by Suetonius and Dio three hundred leading citizens of Perusia were sacrificed by Octavian on the altar of Divus Iulius on the Ides of March immediately following the surrender of the city[22]. This story, the worst of all the accusations of cruelty against Octavian, has often been doubted. Velleius and Appian record the murder of numbers of Perusini but attribute the slaughter not to the commander but to the soldiers[23]. Both Suetonius's and Dio's accounts indicate that they did not find the sacrifice mentioned in all their sources. The story would naturally have been glossed over in chronicles of the Augustan Age. On the other hand the accounts unfavourable to Octavian may have been, to say the least, grossly exaggerated by the pamphlets that Antony's supporters circulated in the decade before Actium. Seneca's reference to the *Perusinae arae*[24] as a familiar example of Augustus's cruelty indicates that the story was well known at a later period. Some confirmation of it may be found in the fact that some of the numerous lead missiles, evidences of the siege which the soil of Perusia has produced in quantities, are inscribed Divum Iulium[25]. Octavian perhaps kept up the ardor of his troops by playing upon the idea of vengeance for his adoptive father[26]. On the other hand it is probable that the numbers slain have been exaggerated. This sacrifice to the Di manes of Julius Caesar was religious in form rather than in the motive that inspired it[27].

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[22] Suet. *Aug.* 15. Scribunt quidam trecentos ex dediticiis electos utriusque ordinis ad aram Divo Iulo exstructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos. Dio. XLVIII 14. καὶ λόγος γε ἔχει, ... ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ προτέρῳ ὡσιωμένον ἀχθέντες ἱππῆς τριακόσιοι καὶ βουλευταὶ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ Καννούτιος ὁ Τιβέριος, ὅς ποτε ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ τὸ πλῆθος τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ 'Οκταουιανῷ ἤθροισεν, ἐτύθησαν. On the date of the surrender of Perusia, which probably occurred toward the end of February see Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* I 2, 97.

[23] Appian, *B. C.* V 48 ; Velleius II 74. Appian's account is perhaps taken from Augustus's own memoirs. Cf. Weichert, *Imp. Caesaris Aug. scr. reliquiae* 224-6 ; Gardthausen, *op. cit.* I, 2, 94.

[24] Seneca *De Clementia* I 11... nempe post mare Actiacum Romano cruore infectum, nempe post fractas in Sicilia classes et suas et alienas, nempe post Perusinas aras et proscriptiones.

[25] Zangemeister, *Glandes Plumbeae, Ephem. Epig.* VI pp. 65-6 n. 77-8.

Although there might have been a certain irony in the worship of Augustus after this event, the Emperor's restoration of the city, indicated in the name Augusta Perusia, led to the dedication to him of a monument from which there have survived four travertine *cippi* inscribed (1923): Augusto sacr(um) Perusia restituta. The words Augusto lucus sacer on another stone (1922) show that there was a grove sacred to him.

Sevir is found once as the title for an *ingenuus* (1939), *Augustalis* once for a freedman (1942), and the combined title *VI vir et Aug.*, common in northern Italy, is given to a man whose status is unknown (1941a). The body of *Augustales* is nowhere mentioned.

ISIS.

The following dedication to Apollo, set up apparently by a *ministra* of Isis, definitely proves that the goddess had a cult and presumably a temple at Perusia (1916) : Ob honorem Isidis Aug. Apollini sacrum Critonia Cn. l. Chrotis minist[*e*]rio suo donum dedit. The title *ministra*, attested in the cult of various other goddesses and especially in that of Bona Dea, is found only here in the cult of Isis. Perhaps the term is equivalent to *Isiaca* which is of fairly frequent occurrence.

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

The only priests recorded are the unexplained title *sacerdos III lucorum* and the familiar *praetor Etruriae XV populorum* found in the titles of the same man (1941).

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[26] Suetonius suggests that Octavian murdered the Perusini in order to confiscate their property to pay his veterans. Seeck, s. v. Iulius (Augustus) Pauly Wissowa 302, accepts this explanation.

[27] Cf. Schwenn, *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern*, in *Religionsgesch. Vers. und Vorarb.* XV (1914-15) 173. The instances cited by Schwenn hardly justify his conclusion that the execution of this sacrifice was " echt römisch ".

CHRISTIANITY.

Perusia has an important place in the Martyrology. Under November 7 there is mention of a saint Herculanius who is believed to have lived at Perusia in the first century, and may have been the first *antistes* of the church. The martyrology gives the names under June 5th of numerous martyrs who died in the persecutions of Decius — Florentius, Julianus, Cyriacus, Marcellinus, and Faustinus. Under June first are given the names of two Roman soldiers, Felinus and Gratianus, who embraced Christianity, were baptized by the bishop Florentius, and were also put to death in the persecutions of Decius. Under August 29 the Martyrology names S. Euthymius who died at Perusia where he had fled from the persecutions of Diocletian. His little son Crescentius was at the same time sent to Rome to be martyred [28].

TERRITORY OF PERUSIA.

Near the castle of Magione was found a bronze statue, which Conestabile identifies as Hygia, and various small bronzes which were probably votive offerings. Conestabile believed that the objects came from a shrine of a divinity of health [29]. But in spite of the serpent as attribute of the figure, the type does not seem to conform to the representations of Hygia.

Near Magione was also found the handle of a bronze vase with an Etruscan inscription which Milani thinks refers to Cautha whom he identifies with Vertumnus, the chief god of the Etruscans [30]. The identification is uncertain.

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[28] C. Bracco, *Martyrologium Romanum.*

[29] Conestabile, *Bull. dell'Inst.*, 1869, 187 ff.

[30] *Notizie*, 1895, 242-243.

12. CORTONA.

Like Perusia and Clusium, Cortona was originally, according to one tradition preserved by Dionysius (I 20), a city of the Umbrians; from them, he says, it was wrested by the Pelasgians to whom it later served as a bulwark against the Umbrians — a position for which its well protected natural site admirably fitted it. Herodotus calls it a city of the Pelasgians ὑπέρ Τυρσηνῶν which differed in speech from its neighbors[1], and Hellanicus, whose statement may depend on Heredotus, calls it the first city of Etruria seized by the Pelasgians, who had landed at Spina at the mouth of the Po[2]. These fifth century traditions, which seem to give Cortona an importance out of accord with the comparatively minor role which other evidence assigns to it among the twelve cities of Etruria, have been explained by Rosenberg with the suggestion that Cortona was on an overland route between the Po city Spina, a town well known to Greek traders, and Caere, the most important Etruscan port for Greek trade[3]. Although from a practical standpoint it must be admitted that the route does not seem the most likely one, the theory certainly explains how Cortona came to be known to Greeks, who are doubtless responsible for the story of its foundation by Corythus, the father of Dardanus[4]. It is also identical with Γορτυναία, the town in which, according to Theopompos, Odysseus ended his life[5].

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[1] Herod. I 57. The manuscript reading Κρηστῶνα is obviously a mistake for Κροτῶνα which Dionysius I 29 read in the passage. Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* I 23 ff.; Körte s. v. *Etrusker*, Pauly-Wissowa 732; against this view see Della Seta, *Rendiconti dei Lincei*, XXVIII (1919) 173 ff.

[2] Hellanicus quoted by Dionysius I 28.

[3] Rosenberg *Rhein. Mus.* LXIX (1914) 615-624; Grenier's interpretation is somewhat similar, *Bologne Villanovienne et Étrusque* (1912) 468 ff.

In its first appearance in Roman history Cortona with Perusia and Arretium, a group of cities that Livy calls *ferme capita Etruriae populorum*, sued for a truce to last thirty years after the Etruscan war of 310. The fine walls, extensive portions of which still stand, and the discoveries, particularly in bronze, made in the comparatively small necropolis that has so far come to light, show the city's position in Etruscan times. The few inscriptions indicate an independent community, belonging to the *Stellatina* tribe, and probably having the status of a *municipium*, not of a *colonia* which Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls it.

With relatively few Etruscan inscriptions Cortona has more religious inscriptions in Etruscan than any other town. The inscribed monuments include a griffin, a dog, a plaque and a handle of a vase, all of bronze, with the inscription *tinscvil*, which we have seen, probably indicates a votive offering[6].

JUNO.

The bronze handle referred to (*CIE.* 471) has on it a second inscription, mi unia l curţun for which Deecke's translation " ich gehöre der Juno von Cortona " seems to give the general sense. A prominent cult of Juno is thus attested.

CULSANS.

This god, whose name occurs only at Cortona where it is found on a statuette and on a small bronze plaque, has been identified by Herbig as an Etruscan equivalent of Janus. The identification is based on the fact that the statue bearing the inscription has a head of the double-faced Janus type. Otherwise the statue corresponds in type to the accompanying dedication to Sel[v]ans. Janus' cult in Etruria is attested by the form *ani* on the bronze " liver " of Piacenza and possibly by one or two Etruscan inscriptions. The cult of Janus Quadrifrons at Falerii has already been discussed[7].

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[4] Vergil, *Aen.* III 170; VII 207; Sil. Ital. IV 720; V 123; see Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, 622.

[5] Theopompus ap. Schol. on Lycophron 806.

[6] *CIE.* 440, 443, 471, 472. See discussion of Volsinii.

SELVANS.

The same man who dedicated the statuette of Culsans set up a bronze statuette of equal size and similar type to Selans, a name equivalent to Selvans, the Etruscan form that seems to correspond to the Italic Silvanus[8]. The statuette in question represents a nude female figure holding a spear and wearing a necklace, buskins, and a skin over her head. The figure differs from the statue of Culsans only in sex and in that it is not double faced. This statue seems to be a gift presented to the god rather than an actual image of the god himself.

THUFLTHAS.

Θuplθas which occurs on a bronze candelabrum and Θuflθas on a bronze statuette of a boy found together in the neighborhood of Cortona, both of which seem to be votive offerings, obviously correspond to the divinity Θuflθas in the sixteenth region of the bronze "liver" of Piacenza[9]. Thulin has shown that the word is probably plural and that it corresponds to the Di Consentes of Martianus Capella's text. The same god is referred to in votive offerings of Clusium.

MUANTRNS.

A tiny statuette only eight centimeters high which represents a boy in sleeveless cloak that falls to his knees, holding an apple in his lifted hand, bears a dedication to an otherwise unknown god, Muantrns[10]. The statuette was found on the road to Arezzo, eight miles from Cortona.

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[7] *CIE*. 437. v. cvinti arntiaś culśanśi alpan turce (alpan turce = donum dedit). See Herbig, article on *Etruscan Religion* in Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*.

[8] *CIE*. 438. v. cvinti arntiaś śelvanśl tez alpan turce. See Herbig, s. v. Selvans, Roscher.

[9] Thulin, *Die Götter des Martianus Capella* 34ff.

[10] *CIE*. 447, larθia ateinei fleres muantrnśl turce.

JUPPITER SABAZIUS.

One of the characteristic votive hands that are found in many parts of the Roman world has been discovered here[11].

RELIGIOUS COLLEGIA.

Two inscriptions attest the existence of burial *collegia* known as Cultores Minervae (1906) and Cultores Saturni (7088, *Notizie* 1889, 269).

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

The names of two *seviri Augustales* of Cortona are known (1904, 2123).

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

The only priest mentioned is an [*aedilis* ?] *Etruriae* who was also *IIII vir i*(*ure*) *d*(*icundo*) (1905).

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[11] Blinkenberg, *Arch. Studien* 79, E, 26.

13. ARRETIUM AND ITS TERRITORY.

Except for its inclusion by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (III 51) in the list of cities which promised to help the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus, Arretium does not appear in tradition until the Etruscan war of 311, when Livy mentions it (IX 32) first as the only city which had not joined in the war, and later in 310, after it had come in, with Perusia and Cortona, as a leading city of Etruria which appealed to Rome for a thirty year truce (Livy IX 37). Its importance must have been originally due to its position in a pass that was accessible both from the east and from the west coast. In later times it obtained great prominence as an industrial centre. In 302 the Arretini, in an effort to expel their most powerful family, Maecenas's ancestors, the Cilnii, provoked a rebellion that, according to one account, extended over a considerable section of Etruria, and had to be quelled by Rome (Livy X 3-4). Again the city took part in the Etruscan war of 294 after which, according to Livy (X 37), tres validissimae urbes Etruriae capita Vulsinii, Perusia, Arretium, pacem petiere. A Roman army was defeated there by the Senones in 283 (Polybius II 19). After the chief Etruscan cities became allies of Rome Arretium is frequently mentioned because of its strategic position [1]. In 209 during the Second Punic War Arretium provoked an uprising in Etruria which assumed such proportions that 120 children of senators had to be forcibly extorted from the city as hostages (Livy XXVII 21 ; 22 ; 24). Perhaps in atonement for the trouble caused the Arretini contributed liberally both armor and food to the equipment of Scipio in 205 (Livy XXVIII 45).

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[1] Polybius III 77, 1 ; 80 1 ; Livy XXII 2, 3 ; XXVIII 46, 13 ; Caesar *B. C.* I 11.

It is indicative of well developed industries that Arretium gave not only raw material but finished articles — helmets, shields, spears, etc. In the civil wars between Marius and Sulla Arretium favored the former and was accordingly, like Volaterrae, deprived, temporarily at least, of citizenship and of a part of her *ager* by Sulla [2]. The diminution of the territory is probably to be associated with the foundation by Sulla of a colony, the existence of which may be assumed from the fact that Pliny's list of Augustan communities (III 52) mentioned the Arretini veteres, Arretini fidentiores, and Arretini Iulienses [3]. Just as at Pompeii the Sullan colonists, designated at Arretium with the epithet Fidentiores, a term of reproach to the Arretini who had favored Marius, were distinguished from the rest of the community. The Arretini Iulienses must represent a later colonization either by Julius Caesar or by Augustus, probably the former. Later the town has its greatest importance from the famous Arretine ware manufactured there during the first century of the Empire [4]. These vases, found in practically every section of the Roman world, are a strong testimony of the taste and skill of the Arretine manufacturers.

It has often been doubted whether the Etruscan town of Arretium lay, as the Roman city certainly did, on the site of modern Arezzo [5]. Recent excavations have provided proof that it did and so have confirmed the view that Professor Gamurrini, the distinguished Etruscan scholar of Arezzo, has always maintained in spite of many opposing arguments. The discoveries include most interesting remains of a wall of lightly baked bricks, undoubtedly the (*e latere*) *in Italia Arretio vetustum egregie factum murum* of Vitruvius (II 8, 9). Near the wall were found heaps of material, perhaps the remains of a conflagration. Among them were fragments of vases and terracotta decoration—antefixes, *acroteria*, and revetments, many of them small and unimportant. The terracotta fragments that seem to have belonged to temples date from the fourth to the second century. Among the antefixes are two of the finest examples of Hellenistic art that have been found in Italy [6].

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[2] Cicero, *Pro Caecina* 97. See discussion of Volaterrae.

[3] Cf. 1849 and the inscription on a brick stamp 6675.

[4] Cf. G. H. Chase, *The Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery* (New York 1908), with an admirable introduction on Arretine pottery. Chase puts the manufacture of Arretine pottery from about 40 B. C. to 60 A. D.

[5] Cf. Dennis II 389 ff.; Pauli in *CIE.* I p. 60; Frickenhaus, *Bonner Jahrbücher* CXVIII (1909), 27-33.

Fragments of terracotta decoration and architectural members found in several other places indicate the existence of various small temples on the site of Arezzo. Outside the walls to the northeast were found remains that were thought to have belonged to a sanctuary. Near by were discovered a fluted column of travertine, fragments of terracotta *acroteria*, and bits of mosaic [7].

In the Via Guido Monaco near the Teatro Petrarca were found fragments of terracotta decoration of comparatively late date that seemed to belong to two or more temples. An *acroterion*, in the form of a man's head, painted red, was discovered with a Corinthian capital and various marble fragments. Other terracottas found near by apparently belonged to another temple. Among these was a fragmentary bas-relief representing a Nereid riding on a marine monster [8].

In a well near the cathedral were found fragments of terracotta antefixes which seemed to belong to the second century B. C. In the well also were numerous broken vases which might have been votive offerings, several Roman asses of C. Ter(entius) Luc(anus) belonging to the second century B. C., and, at the very bottom, skulls of a calf and a deer. Gamurrini believed that this was a sacred well consecrated to some god after the sacrifice of the animals [9].

The inscription tinscvil on the right foreleg of the famous bronze Chimaera which was discovered at Arezzo in 1555 indicates that the figure was a votive offering to some god [10]. This representation of the monster, a combination of lion, bull, and serpent, who was renowned for his contest with Bellerophon, if it is not a Greek original is a remarkable example of Etruscan bronze work in the first half of the fifth century. It was found outside the Porta S. Lorenzo and restored in 1554 by Benvenuto Cellini who mentions it in his autobiography (II 87).

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[6] See Pernier, *Notizie* 1920, 167-215.

[7] Gamurrini *Notizie* 1891, 159-160. The suggestion that the temple was sacred to Diana rests on no surer foundation than the representation of the goddess on one of the bronze vessels.

[8] Gamurrini, *Notizie* 1894, p. 276.

[9] Gamurrini, *Notizie* 1898, 238-240. Near La Guarata to the west of Arezzo was found a fragmentary terracotta antefix representing a woman's head. It seems to belong to the second century B. C. and suggests the existence of a shrine on the spot (*Notizie* 1895, p. 71).

[10] *CIE*. 377. Cf. Milani, *Il Reale Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, 135. Gamurrini, *Appendix* 88, suggests that the inscription *tinslut* on a fragmentary stone from Arretium (*CIE*. 371) may be similar in meaning to *tinscvil*.

KLANINS.

The inscription mi klaninsl on a nude male statue of athletic type (*CIE.* 380) seems to preserve a god's name that is otherwise unknown.

MINERVA.

Less certain is the religious significance of the beautiful bronze Minerva unearthed at Arezzo in a wall beneath the church of S. Lorenzo within the city walls. According to some accounts remains of an ancient building which might have been a temple were found with the statue.

MERCURY.

Among the *prodigia* of the year 93 B. C. Obsequens says *Arreti signum aeneum Mercurii sudavit.* A cult of Mercury at Arretium would naturally be expected because of the prominence of industries.

FONTE TENTA, SHRINE OF APOLLO?

There is evidence of a very interesting survival as late as the fifteenth century at Arezzo of a cult that centered around a spring called Fonte Tenta a mile to the south of the city[12]. Hither people came for miles around to cure their infirmities by the supposed healing powers of the waters. The fact that babes in arms who were immersed in the chilling waters often died from its effects did nothing to abate the zeal of the worshippers. In 1425 S. Bernardino of Siena came to Arezzo to preach and violently assailed the iniquitous practices that went on about the spring. But the local belief was too

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[11] See Deecke, s. v. Klanins, Roscher, and Pauli, *Etr. Studien*, III 83.

[12] The chief sources for this event are the anonymous life of S. Bernardino of Siena written by one of his followers, preserved in a fifteenth century manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and a document of 1445 preserved in the Archivio of Arezzo. Cf. A. G. Ferrers Howell, *S. Bernardino di Siena* (1913), 138-140. The document calls the spring Fonte Tenta, but in the life of S. Bernardino it is Fonte tecta.

deep-rooted and S. Bernardino, with the aid even of certain monks, was driven away from Arezzo. Three years later he returned, invited by new magistrates who took the place of those who had expelled him, and, having won the people by his preaching, led them to the iniquitous spot, fixed the cross upon it, and set his followers to drain the water from the spring. The task proved an arduous one, for the source of the water lay deep. While they were working a certain chronicle was found in the city stating that on the site of this spring there had once been an underground chamber which was like a pagan shrine. Continued work resulted in discovering the chamber in question. By S. Bernardino's command the water was with infinite labor drained off and the great blocks of stone that formed the chamber removed. On the site by his orders was built a chapel which still exists under the name of S. Maria delle Grazie[13].

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[13] The following quotations from the life cited (published in *Analecta Bollandiana* XXV, 1906, 304-338) are of interest:

§ 35. In partibus Tuscie extra civitatem Aretii erat quidam fons distans a civitate per unum miliare qui vocabatur Fonte tecta qui scaturibat sub uno monte. Ad quem fontem concurrebant multi malefici et incantores viri et mulieres ex diversis partibus, qui sub specie boni ostendebant aquam istam habere aliquam virtutem supernaturalem. Sed hoc potius erat opus demonum per suas incantationes et ipsorum invocationes, quam per naturalem virtutem prefate aque. Et inter alia que isti et iste pestifere mulieres faciebant, si contigisset puerum unius anni vel duorum habuisse aliquam infirmitatem et allatum esse ad illum fontem per ante dictos et dictas mulieres pestiferas, accipiebant et infundebant eum in illum fontem ultra modum frigidum. Ex quo pro maiori parte contracti dicti pueri ex frigiditate illius aque expirabant. Ipsi et ipse perverse mulieres dicebant hoc esse divina permissione et non occasione sue perversitatis et frigiditatis illius aque. In isto namque loco quasi quotidie operabantur ista nephanda et alia multa mala, antiquo serpente operante. Et iste locus profanus in tanta erat fama, licet mala, quod non solum de locis circumstantibus, sed etiam de longinquis partibus concurrebant ad prefatum locum prenominati et prenominate malefice. Et non isti tantam et iste sed et multe alie diverse persone indocte et bestiales, querentes sanitates diversarum infirmitatum, non extimentes divinam offensionem. Further on, in the description of the destruction of the spring:

§ 37. In diebus illis inventa fuit in illa civitate quedam cronica, dicens illic, ubi erat fons, iam fuisse locum subterraneum et prophanum infedelium in modum templi ydolorum. Sic isti perseverantes in opere iam cepto per plures dies invenerunt tandem, ut dicebatur in illa cronica, locum spatiosum et subterraneum, in quo lapsu temporis aqua illa descendens de monte, in cuius pede erat prefata caverna vel locus, et in tantum creverat aqua illa quod apparuerat in superficie terre in ore istius spelunce et aqua ista erat prefatus fons.

The destruction of Fonte Tenta is represented in the predella of a painting by Neri di Bicci formerly in this church and now in the Museum at Arezzo[14]. The statement regularly made by the later chroniclers of Arezzo that Fonte Tenta was sacred to Apollo may well be true, for Apollo was usually the god associated with healing springs ; there seems however to be no evidence for it from the time when the spring was destroyed.

GENIUS.

A dedication is preserved on manuscript authority in obviously corrupt form (1820) ; Genio sancte sacrum Iul. Silvanus ve.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

There is no evidence for the *Augustales*. The term *sevir* is twice found, once as the title of an *ingenuus* (1843) and once applied to a man whose status is uncertain (1844).

MITHRAS.

The following inscription is probably to be assigned to the cult of Mithras (1821) : [I]nvicto deo sancto, salvo Pruniciano n(ostro) Myron ser.

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

An *augur* who had held the most important municipal offices including the duumvirate is attested (1841) and a *pontifex* who, in addition to his municipal honors, was also a Roman knight (1848). The *pontifex* also held the unique title *iurat*(*us*) *ad sacra Etr*(*uriae*). *Haruspex* is twice recorded, once as the title of a man whose lack of *cognomen* indicates an early date[15].

CHRISTIANITY.

The *Martyrologium Romanum* mentions under June 2 two saints, Purgentius and Laurentinus, who were put to death here in the persecutions of Decius.

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[14] Reproduced by Howell, *op. cit.*, opposite page 140.

[15] 1850. D. M. M. Terenti Sabiniani M. Terentius Secundus filio pientissimo harispic. *Notizie* 1889, p. 58 (7086) L. Volusenus Har. dm . s. in fr. p. XII in agr. p. X.

TERRITORY OF ARRETIUM.

Several modern names the survival of which has been noted by Gamurrini point to the existence of ancient cults. Ponte d'Ercli was the name used until fairly recently for the bridge over a small stream on the road to Bagnoro south of Arezzo. Near Bagnoro there also existed the name Prato Marzo, i. e Pratum Martis [16]. West of Arezzo between the town and the Arno is a Monte Venere [17].

Liber.

A dedication to Liber was discovered near Anghiari [18].

Nymphae.

At the hot springs on the river Ambra some twenty kilometers west of Arezzo was discovered a lead *tabella defixionum* which is unique in that the nymphs and not the powers of the lower world are addressed [19].

With the inscription were found numerous bronze coins dating from Trajan to Valentinian and Theodosius. One would guard against dating the inscription too early for the archaisms in its language may be due to the use of a familiar formula [20].

[16] Gamurrini, *Notizie* 1892, 376-8.

[17] Gamurrini, *Notizie* 1895, 72.

[18] 1822. Libero L. Cas . . . Carp . . .

[19] 1823. Q. Letinium Lupum qui et vocatur Caucadio qui est fi[lius] Sallusti[es Vene]ries sive Ven[e]rioses, hunc ego aput vostrum numen demando devoveo desacrifico uti vos, aquae ferventes, siv[e v]os Nimfas [si]ve quo alio nomine voltis adpe[l]lari uti vos eum interemates interficiates intra annum . . .

[20] Mommsen, *Hermes* IV (1870) 282.

14. SETTLEMENTS OF NORTHWESTERN ETRURIA.

SAENA.

The chief evidence for believing that Saena was an Etruscan city is provided by the Etruscan inscription quoted below which seems to record a Juno of Saena. It could never have been a site of great importance, for Etruscan remains in the vicinity are few and insignificant and the earliest reference to the town concerns the colony established there either by the triumvirs or subsequently by Augustus (Pliny *N. H.* III 51 ; Tac. *Hist.* IV 45).

JUNO.

An Etruscan cult of Juno has been assumed from the inscription on a small box of nenfro found in Val d'Asso (*CIE.* 261) : av. unì. caneθa sene. Uni is evidently the Etruscan Juno and, like the word *curtun* in a similar inscription from Cortona, *sene* has been interpreted as the Etruscan form of Saena [1].

SILVANUS.

A dedication to the god was found in the city walls [2].

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

The dedication to Silvanus quoted records a *VI vir Augustalis.*

TERRITORY OF SAENA.

STATUETTES FROM AN ETRUSCAN SHRINE.

A group of six small bronze statuettes, the publication of which is the last of Körte's many contributions to Etruscan Archaeology [3], is said to have been found in a shrine near Saena. The bronzes are now in the collection of the University of Göttingen. Four of them represent priests and the other two Körte interprets as figures in the act of sacrificing, holding a *patera* in one hand and an incense box in the other. Pagenstecher believes that these two figures represent a god, perhaps Selvans [4]. One of the priests bears on his garment an inscription for which the best attested reading seems to be that of Pagenstecher and Herbig: temres alpan tina, " Temre's dedication to Tinia ". Temre, unquestionably the priest's name, is also inscribed on another one of the priestly figures. The priests are beardless and are clad in the chiton, with or without fringe, and in a cloak over it which in one case takes the form of a chlamys. The most striking thing about their attire is their head-dress which in three cases, including the two with inscriptions, consists in a conical cap in which a disk, that seems to be inserted between rim and cone-shaped top, projects in circumference beyond the rim. A chin-band with openings for the ears is also attached. The fourth figure, which does not differ materially in other details from its companions, wears a close fitting pointed cap made of the skin of a heavy animal. The third century B. C. is the earliest date to which Körte would assign the figures. These statuettes have served Körte as point of departure for a significant study of priests' costumes on Etruscan monuments. He finds no less than five types of head-dress but admits the impossibility of determining whether all were in use at one time in the same place.

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[1] Cf. Pauli, *CIE.* I p. 31.

[2] 1801. Silvano sacr. C. Victricius Memor VI vir Augustalis posuit.

[3] Körte, *Göttinger Bronzen, Abhandlungen der kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil. Hist. Kl.* XVI 4 (1917).

The cap made entirely of skin is not known from representations on Roman monuments, though it is apparently identical with the *galerus* which Suetonius, in his list of three types of priestly headdress (ap. Servius on *Aen.* II 683), defines as *pilleum ex pelle hostiae caesae.* The *galerus* is referred to as an especial characteristic of the *flamen Dialis* by Gellius (X 15, 32): Is solum (i. e. flamen Dialis) album habet galerum vel quod maximus vel quod Iovi immolata hostia alba id fieri oportet. Such a cap of skin is known not only in this statuette but also in various other Etruscan monuments and notably in the series of Etruscan *aes grave* with sacrificial implements. It is, Körte thinks, the regular costume of the Etruscan *haruspex*. The other cap with inserted disk is explained by a reference in Fronto (ed. Haines, *Loeb Series*, I 175): Deinde in porta [Anagniae] cum exiimus ibi scriptum erat bifariam sic: " Flamen, sume samentum ". Rogavi aliquem ex popularibus quid illud verbum esset. Ait lingua Hernica pelliculam de hostia quam in apicem suum flamen cum in urbem introeat imponit. The *samentum* here described is, Körte believes, a substitute for the earlier cap made entirely of skin. These statuettes from Saena, with other Etruscan monuments which he mentions, seem to Körte to provide one more evidence for Rome's dependence on Etruria. But one might venture to question here whether the use of a Hernican word for this type of head-dress and the importance of the skin in early Italic religion may not leave open the possibility that this form of priests' cap may have been adapted by the Etruscans from the Italic peoples.

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[4] Pagenstecher, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* XXXVIII (1918), 1039-1044 with quotations from Herbig. Körte's reading of the last word which he regarded as doubtful was tmre.

Pagenstecher's reading of the inscription on one of the figures — Temre's dedication to Tinia — emphasizes the parallel between these priests and the flamen Dialis, Jupiter's priest who wore the *galerus albus*.

VOLATERRAE.

Remains of Villanova burials prove that there was an early settlement on the site of Volaterrae [5]. The extensive walls, indicating that the ancient city was far larger than the modern town, and the large *ager* show the importance of the Etruscan town. In the late fourth century Volaterrae began to issue a series of *aes grave* inscribed with the Etruscan name of the city, Velathri [6]. The most significant archaeological remains on the site, the alabaster *ossuaria*, are chiefly from the third and second centuries. In view of its size it is strange that Volaterrae is only twice mentioned in early literary tradition — once in Dionysius's list of cities that promised to help the Latins against the Tarquins and again among the Etruscan allies that contributed to Scipio's equipment in 205 [7].

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[5] Cf. Ghirardini, *Mon. Ant.* VIII (1896), 101-216.

[6] Cf. Haeberlin, *Aes Grave* I 241-249.

[7] Dion. Hal. III 51; Livy XXVIII 45; cf. X 12, a reference to a battle between Romans and Etruscans *ad Volaterras*.

Volaterrae, like several other north Etruscan cities, was a warm supporter of the Marian party. Its strong walls withstood a two year siege of the Sullan forces, and when the city finally capitulated Sulla took vengeance on the inhabitants by depriving them of citizenship and land. Various legal complications, of which we have echoes in Cicero, resulted from his regulations. The inscriptions are not numerous and the religious evidence is very scant. The coin types with double-headed Janus on the obverse and club or dolphin on the reverse provide little evidence of religious importance.

BELLONA.

A dedication to the goddess made by a freedman of an Emperor comes from the territory of Volaterrae[8]. This is probably the old Italic Bellona, a war goddess sometimes associated with Mars.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

Two freedman *seviri Augustales* are named in the inscriptions (1747, 1750).

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

Two *pontifices* are known, both of them holders of important municipal offices (1745, 1752)[9].

CHRISTIANITY.

S. Linus, the pope that followed S. Peter, was said to have been a native of Volaterrae (*Acta Sanctorum*, Sept. 23). S. Romulus, a first century martyr of Faesulae, was said to have preached here (*Acta Sanctorum*, July 6).

POPULONIA.

The city's early necropolis with important *pozzo* and *fossa* graves which have recently been explored[10], leads one to doubt Servius's statement that Populonia was established as a colony of Corsica,

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[8] 1737. Bellonae sacrum Donax Aug. lib. mesor d. d.

[9] The fragmentary inscription 1738 seems from the word *sac.* to have been of religious character.

[10] Minto, *Notizie* 1921, 197 ff.; 1922, 301 ff.; *Atene e Roma* XXIII (1920) 30-46; *Populonia, La necropoli arcaica*, Florence 1922.

post XII populos in Etruria constitutos[11]. Its rise doubtless comes later than Caere, Tarquinii, Volci, and Vetulonia. Its unique position as the only Etruscan city on the coast, a fact on which Strabo comments[12], gives the key to its rise, for its prominence is due to the fact that it served, like the modern town of Piombino, as the harbor to which the iron of Elba was shipped. The island whose mineral treasure explains why the Syracusans took temporary possession of it in 453 (Diodorus XI 88) was probably not exploited until long after the copper mines of the mainland were sending their products through much of the known world. When it did come into prominence it seems to have maintained an active trade with Greek lands even after the commerce of Etruria had largely declined[13]. Its gold and silver coins which are probably the earliest and certainly the most numerous and varied in type known from Etruria, go back to the fifth century. Their continued adherence to the Euboic-Syracusan standard[14], after coins in other sections of Etruria were being issued on the scruple standard which Rome used, is an indication of the city's relations with Hellenic lands. The coins themselves are based on Greek types and it is doubtful whether the heads and emblems of Ares, Herakles, Hermes, and Athena on them have any great religious significance for Populonia.

The existence of this important series of coins and the fact that Populonia is mentioned among the cities of Etruria that contributed to Scipio's equipment in 205 (Livy XXVIII, 45) are the chief reasons for believing, in spite of Servius' indication to the contrary, that Populonia was, eventually at least, one of the twelve cities of Etruria.

Later, perhaps after Sulla's siege of it, Populonia seems to have declined. In Strabo's day the city on the hill-top was deserted except for the temples of the gods and a few houses — perhaps no more numerous than the small group that to-day occupies Populonia's beautiful site. The part below had, however, a much larger population which was employed in the iron industry. Even the smelting, as we learn from Strabo, then took place at the port.

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[11] Servius on *Aen.* X 172. Quidam Populoniam post XII populos in Etruria constitutos populum ex insula Corsica in Italiam venisse et condidisse dicunt : alii Populoniam Volaterranorum coloniam tradunt, alii Volaterranos Corsis eripuisse Populoniam dicunt.

[12] Strabo V 2, 6 ; cf. Pliny *N. H.* III 50.

[13] See Milani, *Notizie* 1905, 54 f., for notice of the discovery of two beautiful Red-figured hydriae of the style of Meidias.

[14] Haeberlin, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* XXVII (1909) 1-115 ; Sambon, *Monnaies antiques de l'Italie* 22 ff.

No trace of the temples of the city which Strabo records has been found, but on the site of the port there was unearthed in 1908 a rectangular substructure that Milani regarded as an Etruscan temple. In the excavations was found a fragmentary terracotta head, belonging, it would seem, to the fifth century. In front of the temple Milani discovered traces of what he believed to be three *favissae*. A small fifth century terracotta votive head and a number of fragments of late fifth century Attic vases were also found there[15].

FUFLUNS.

Populonia's name, which appears on coins under the forms *pupluna*, *pufluna*, *fufluna*, has, with some degree of probability, been associated with fufluns, the Etruscan equivalent, as many inscribed monuments show, of the Greek Dionysus[16]. There is, as Schulze has shown, some support for Grotefend's suggestion that the names of god and city are derived from βίβλινος οἶνος, a famous wine that probably came fron Naxos[17]. According to a story of Hyginus (*Astron.* II 17) it was on that island that Tyrrhenian sailors secured possession of the young god Liber Pater. The introduction of the cult of the god into Etruria may be connected with that story. The cult has left no traces at Populonia[18].

JUNO.

It is uncertain whether the *templum Iunonis Populoniae* mentioned by Macrobius in a quotation from the *Ius Papirianum* refers to a temple of Juno at Populonia or to a shrine of the Samnite divinity

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[15] *Notizie* 1908, 218-231.

[16] See Thulin s. v. *fufluns*, Pauly-Wissowa; Schulze 589, add. to 216.

[17] See Olck s. v. βίβλινος οἶνος, Pauly-Wissowa. Grotefend in Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere* ^{6} 553.

Juno Populona. The temple in question was noted for having a sacred table that served as an altar [19].

JUPITER.

An early cult here is known from Pliny's reference to an ancient statue of the god carved from the trunk of a vine (*N. H.* XIV 2): Iovis simulacrum in urbe Populonio ex una [vite] conspicimus tot aevis incorruptum.

ISLAND OF ELBA.

This island whose ancient name was Ilva seems to have been under the jurisdiction of Populonia, the port to which its iron was brought [20]. The only cult evidence is a reference to IUPPITER OPTIMUS MAXIMUS in an obscure fragmentary inscription said to have been found near Porto Ferraio [21] and a dedication to HERCULES SANCTUS made by a *praefectus praetorio* under Hadrian [22].

FALESIA.

This harbor, which must have served for contact with Elba, lay one mile north of Piombino, Italy's present port for trade with Elba. The only evidence for cults comes from Rutilius Namatianus who early in the fifth century stopped there on his famous voyage and witnessed a joyous spring gathering of the countryside in honor of the return of OSIRIS (372-376):

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[18] Milani, *Museo Topografico dell'Etruria* 145, cites for the importance of the vine at Populonia the statue of Jupiter carved from the vine (Pliny *N. H.* XIV 2).

[19] Macrobius, *Sat.* III 11, 5-6. Ego autem quod mihi magistra lectione copertum est publicabo. In Papiriano enim iure evidenter relatum est arae vicem praestare posse mensam dicatam. Ut in templo inquit Iunonis Populoniae augusta mensa est.

[20] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* X 172 ff. and Servius's comments on the passage; see Bormann, *CIL.* XI, p. 412.

[21] 2615. Ex his mox Iup. om ... si quid tempus per ... etc. The entire inscription is obscure and Bormann notes. *Non attigi. Fortasse subest fraus.*

[22] 7248. Dessau 8999 P. Acilius Attianus praef. pr. Herculi sancto d. d.

Lassatum cohibet vicina Faleria cursum,
  Quamquam vix medium Phoebus haberet iter.
Et tum forte hilares per compita rustica pagi
  Mulcebant sacris pectora fessa iocis.
Illo quippe die tandem renovatus Osiris
  Excitat in fruges germina laeta novas.

The survival of the familiar festival of Isis is interesting [23].

There were JEWS also in the region, for Rutilius describes his encounter with a Jewish caretaker of a neighbouring villa, an experience that sent the poet into a diatribe against the race (ll. 381-398).

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[23] Drexler, s. v. Isis, Roscher 411 is wrong in assigning this celebration to Falerii.

15. FAESULAE, FLORENTIA, AND THEIR TERRITORY.

FAESULAE.

This town, which until the time of Sulla lay outside the boundaries of Italy, was probably founded by the Etruscans to protect their communications with Felsina (Bononia) and the neighboring cities in Aemilia (Nissen, 294). The town's walls, which were probably built to withstand the Gauls who destroyed Marzabotto's settlement, enclosed a city of considerable extent. The earliest literary references to the town, in 225 and 217 [1], refer to its situation on the north-south military line of march. It was one of the cities that Florus (II 6) speaks of as completely devastated by fire and sword. A citizen colony established there by Sulla gave rise to open rebellion on the part of the inhabitants whose territory was expropriated [2]; twenty years later the dispossessed farmers and Sulla's veterans who had spent their all made common cause with Catiline and provided a last stronghold for the famous conspiracy [3]. The town's later history is closely linked with Florentia which grew as Faesulae declined. The two cities seem to have had closely coordinated city governments and were united especially in their cults.

On the summit to the west of the modern town of Fiesole, the site that must have been the citadel of the ancient city, have been found remains of one and possibly of two temples. One lay beneath the church of S. Alessandro whose fifteen columns of *cipollino* were probably taken from it. The architect Del Rosso, in repairing the church in 1815, found the remains of the temple's foundations and also three sacred wells in which were buried votive offerings from the shrine. Various statuettes, one of them of a phallic character, four marble phalli, and numerous vases, bronze implements, and lamps were found in the wells. Few of these objects can be identified today [4]. On the basis of the phallic symbols and Del Rosso's report of the former existence in the church of an inscription reading βασιλικὸν τοῦ Διονύσου the temple has been thought to be sacred to Dionysus [5]. But the form of the inscription is very improbable and phallic symbols are too common in other cults to lend any support to the identification.

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[1] Polybius II 25, 6; III 82, 1; Livy XXII, 3.

[2] Granius Licinianus p. 42 ed. Bonn.

[3] Sallust, *Cat.* 24, 27, 28; cf. Cicero, *Cat.* II, 14; III 14; *pro Murena* 49.

Of some interest are the three wells, the only information with regard to which comes from Del Rosso's account, fully discussed by Galli. To these wells and to numerous similar discoveries in Etruria have been given the term *favissae* [6], an obscure word which Varro says was applied to cellas quasdam et specus quibus aeditui Capitolini uterentur ad custodiendum res veteres religiosas [7]. But since, as Galli has pointed out, there is no evidence that the objects in these *favissae* were discarded sacred utensils, it is very doubtful whether the word *favissa* is to be applied to them.

Below the theatre of Faesulae is an interesting temple with three *cellae*, not yet completely excavated or published [8]. Its walls now standing belong to a construction of the late Republic. In front of the seven imposing steps that lead up to the *podium* is a sandstone altar with projecting base and cornice, and on one side at a slightly higher level is a curious quadrangular structure — perhaps another altar — which Milani explained as the *mundus* of Faesulae.

CAPITOLIUM.

On the height to the southeast of the modern city was discovered in 1879 an important inscription recording the restoration of the Capitolium by the senate of Florence: Iovi O. M. Iunoni Reg. Minervae ob restitutionem Capitoli ordo spl. Flor. d. d. It is impossible to determine whether the stone was discovered in its original position, though a wall found at the time was thought to mark the site of a temple [9]. The site does not seem a likely one for a Capitolium which we should expect to find either in the Forum or on the *arx*. The activity of the senate of Florence is interesting in the light of an inscription from Ostia recording a *pontifex Faesulis et Florentiae* (*CIL*. XIV 172). At a late period the *sacra* of the two towns were evidently united and Florentia, although possessing its own Capitolium, was unwilling to have the shrines of its sparsely inhabited mother city fall into decay.

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[4] Galli *Mon. Ant.* XX 909-930.

[5] Still other Dionysiac symbols were noted by Milani. Cf. *Museo Topografico dell'Etruria*, 99, n. 123.

[6] Cf. Thédenat, s. v. *favisae*, Daremberg and Saglio ; Galli, *l. c.* There is no good authority for the general use of this term in temples though it certainly was used for the Capitolium. See Wissowa s. v. *Favissae Capitolinae*, Pauly-Wissowa.

[7] Varro ap. Gellius II 10; Festus, s. v. *Favissae* p. 78 L.

[8] See Galli, *Fiesole, gli scavi e il Museo Civico* 18 ff.

CULTORES SATURNI.

A burial college of this name set up an inscription to one of its members [10].

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

There is no certain evidence for this cult but two records of *seviri*, one of unknown status, and the other an *ingenuus*, may belong here (1548, 1551).

MAGNA MATER.

A record of a *dendrophorus* (who was also *sevir*) may indicate a cult of Magna Mater here (1551).

ISIS AND OSIRIS.

On the *arx* of Faesulae near the church of S. Alessandro already referred to, there were discovered in ruins that seemed to belong to a shrine two dedications to Dominus Osiris and to Domina Isis Taposiris set up by a veteran soldier in honor of his brother who was also a veteran [11]. With the inscription were found a statue of

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[9] 1545. Cf. Gamurrini, *Notizie* 1879, 108; *Bull. dell'Inst.* 1879, 176-185.

[10] 1555. D. M. L. Tetti Crescentis culto[res] Sa[turni].

[11] 1543. Domino Osiri C. Gargennius Sp. f. Sca. Maximus veteranus nomine fratris sui M. Gargenni Sp. f. Sca. Macrini veterani. 1544. Dom[in]ae Isidi Taposiri C. Gargennius Sp. f. Sca. Maximus veteranus nomine fratris sui M. Gargenni Sp. f. Sca. Macrini veterani.

Isis and fragments of the statue of Osiris, the former of the seated type with *situla* and ear of grain [12]. Evidently here, as in Florence, the cult of Isis was prominent. The epithet Taposiris is known only here.

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

The *pontifex* of Faesulae and Florentia whose record was found at Ostia has already been mentioned. Another *pontifex* who was also *rex sacrorum* (1610) seems to belong to Faesulae rather than to Florentia. An *haruspex* is mentioned in a fragmentary record (7029).

CHRISTIANITY.

Although there is no authentic early evidence here, there is a record in the Martyrology of S. Romulus, a first century bishop, who was a native of Faesulae. After preaching in many cities, he was put to death there in the persecutions under Domitian [13].

FLORENTIA.

Although Villanova remains found in the centre of the modern city prove the existence of an early settlement on the site, the city of Florentia, as the form of the name effectively demonstrates, belongs to Roman times. Its foundation has with some degree of probability been associated with the construction in the second century of the Via Cassia which terminated at Florentia. It is doubtful whether Florus's reference to it (II 9, 28) with Spoletium, Interamnium, and Praeneste among the *municipia Italiae splendidissima* can be accurate, for the time of the Social War. The town was colonized at some time, possibly by Sulla, perhaps in the latter part of the reign of Augustus [14]. Under Tiberius the inhabitants appealed to the Roman senate to give up the plan of turning the Clanis into the Arno, an act that would have menaced Florentia's territory (Tacitus, *Ann.* I 69). Through its favorable position and ready communications the town attained considerable importance under the Empire.

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[12] Gamurrini, *Notizie* 1883, 75-76.

[13] Bracco, *Martyrologium Romanum* Appendix to Surius, under July 6.

[14] Tacitus, *Ann.* I 79 ; 1617, 7030 (*Notizie* 1890, 109). See Kornemann, s. v. *coloniae*, Pauly-Wissowa, No. 40.

The remains of the Capitolium will be discussed later. The site of the temple of Isis is established by the discovery of inscriptions. The general belief that the Baptistery lay on the site of an ancient temple has been disproved by the discovery of a private house beneath it.

CAPITOLIUM.

The mediaeval church of Santa Maria in Campidoglio and the Vicolo del Campidoglio which, before the streets were repaired in 1888 and the following years, lay near the Mercato Vecchio, retain the name of Florentia's Capitolium [15]. Early chroniclers of Florentine history put the temple in the same region [16]. The changes attendant on the construction of the modern network of streets about the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele resulted in 1893 in the discovery northeast of the Piazza of the ancient Capitolium [17]. The ground plan with three *cellae*, the central one slightly larger than the other two, was clearly made out. After the manner of the "Etruscan" temple its fore-court was deep and its *podium* high. The architectural fragments of the temple can be seen today in the court of the Museo Archeologico in Florence. We have already seen that the *decuriones* of Florentia restored the Capitolium of Faesulae.

JUPITER.

It is uncertain what epithet of Jupiter is referred to in the abbreviation of the following inscription (1592): Iovi s. v. s. l. [m]. Equally puzzling is the following dedication (1593): Tunni Iovis C. Cevna Iustus [*e*]x arg. p. X v. l. s.

GENIUS COLONIAE FLORENTIAE.

An inscription to this divinity is important both as cult evidence and as an indication of Florentia's political status [18].

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[15] The same name is kept in the present Corso del Campidoglio.

[16] See Kuhfeldt, *De Capitoliis imperii Romani* (Berlin, 1883), 32 ff. where mediaeval chronicles with references to the Capitolium are quoted.

[17] Milani, *Mon. Ant.* VI (1895) 15-72. Milani s efforts to date the temple are inconclusive.

[18] 7030 (*Notizie* 1890 p. 109). Genio coloniae Florentiae . . . tdius . . . cus . .d.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

Four records of uncertain epoch give the names of *magistri Augustales*, two of whom are also *sexviri* (1604, 1611, 1614 a, 1616). *Seviri Augustales* are unknown, but *seviri* are mentioned in numerous inscriptions; most of the holders of the titles are freedmen, but there is one certain case of an *ingenuus*. The *Augustales* are mentioned as a body along with the *plebs urbana* in one case (1618). One inscription probably records a *flaminica* (1605).

ISIS REGINA.

In building the new monastery of the Oratorio of S. Firenze in the seventeenth century fifteen marble inscriptions recording in most cases the fulfilment of vows to the goddess were discovered, according to one authority, in the ruins of a temple [19]. The records attest an important cult of Isis, a goddess who was also worshipped at near-by Faesulae.

IUPPITER DOLICHENUS.

A fragmentary dedication to this Syrian god was found in the baths near the Capitolium (7032): Iovi D[*olicheno N*] orb[*anus ex v*]is[*o*.

MITHRAS.

It is uncertain whether any of the Mithraic monuments which Cumont lists in the collections in Florence were actually found in Florence. The monuments include a marble statue of the leontocephalic figure (Uffizi), a group of Mithras saxigenus (Uffizi), and another of Mithras Tauroctonos (Palazzo Corsini) [20].

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[19] 1577-1586. The most important inscriptions are the following: (1577) Isi reg. C. Adulnius Natalis pro Valente fil. v. l. s. (1581) Isi Regin, L. Otacilius Favor v. l. s. pro Severo conliberto; (1582) Isi Reginae P. Otacilius Super v. l. m. s.; (1585) Isidi Reg. ob remissa exac[ta] in liga populo a max(imis) imperat(oribus) Severo et Antonin. Augg. C. Subulnius Faustinus v. s. l. m.

[20] Cumont, *Textes et Monuments* II 258-9, n. 101-3.

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

These include two and possibly three *pontifices*[21], one of whom was *Pontifex Faesulis et Florentiae*, an *augur* (1601), and a probable *flaminica* (1605).

CHRISTIANITY.

A Christian church was established at Florence before 313 for in that year a Bishop of Florentia[22] is listed among the fifteen Italian prelates who gathered at the Synod of Rome[23].

TERRITORY OF FAESULAE AND FLORENTIA.

Excavations conducted in 1917 in a spot near Impruneta where antiquities had previously come to light resulted in the discovery of a number of objects that indicate the existence of an early shrine. Notable among these objects are fragments of Black-figured and Red-figured Attic vases and three crude bronze statuettes, all of them belonging probably to the sixth century[24].

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[21] 1600; XIV 172. 1610 probably belongs to Faesulae.

[22] Optatus, *De Schism.* I 23.

[23] Two religious inscriptions that are too fragmentary to be clear are 7031, Genio... Commi... di and 7033,... l. ... deae... uri. Bormann's restoration deae [Maiae et Merc]uri is the most probable.

[24] See Galli, *Notizie*, 1918, 210-215.

16. PISAE AND LUCA.

PISAE.

The similarity of name led poets to associate the foundation of Pisae with the city of the same name in Elis [1] and it is possible that there was a Greek settlement here [2]. There is moreover some contradiction in the sources as to whether Pisae was Ligurian or Etruscan. The best tradition seems to indicate that it was a city of the Ligurians [3] and was later conquered by the Etruscans [4] who were not always successful in holding it against the incursions of their Ligurian neighbors. Neither archaeological evidence nor literary references are of much assistance in determining when it came under Etruscan power. The scant fragments of Attic Black-figured ware, the only early finds of significance, provide insufficient data from which to draw conclusions [5]. In Roman historical tradition, which mentions the city first as a port in 225, Pisae is always friendly. She must have been an allied city before the Ligurian wars which began in 196 B. C. For the next thirty years — indeed as long as Livy's narrative is preserved — Pisae is the chief Roman military and naval base against the Ligurians. With Ariminum on the east coast, the base against the Gauls, Pisae is one of the two *provinciae* of Italy assigned year after year to the chief magistrates.

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[1] Rutilius I 565; 572; Verg. *Aen.* X 179; cf. Strabo V 2, 5.

[2] Cf. Pais, *Early History of Pisa* in *Ancient Italy* (translated by C. D. Curtis) 1908, 355-365, who maintains that there is evidence in favor of the existence of a Greek colony at Pisae.

[3] Justin XX 1, 11; Pseudo-Aristotle, *De mirab. ausc.* 92.

[4] Lycophron 1241; Servius on *Aen.* X 179. Cf. Bormann *CIL.*, XI p. 273, and Pais *op. cit.*

[5] Ghirardini, *Notizie*, 1892, 152-3.

In 180 (Livy XL 43) the Pisans offered territory for the establishment of a Latin colony, the location of which has been much discussed. The probabilities are in favor of the view that it was placed not at Luca, as is generally supposed, but at Pisae itself [6]. During this entire period Pisae was regarded as belonging to Liguria and was therefore outside the boundaries of Italy and of Etruria which until the time of Sulla apparently extended only as far as the station *ad Fines* of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* [7]. The association of the town with Liguria is further indicated by the fact that when, probably after the Social War, Pisae acquired full citizenship, it was enrolled in the Galeria tribe to which Luna, Genua, and other Ligurian cities belonged.

The extension of the Via Aurelia under the name Via Aemilia to Pisae and Luna in 109 B. C. must have added to the importance of Pisae. From the mention of the city as a colony in Pliny III 50 and from the reference in *CIL*. XI 1420 (36) to Colonia Obsequens Iulia Pisana it is evident that Pisae was colonized either by the triumvirs or by Augustus alone. Augustus' grandsons Gaius and Lucius were both patrons of the colony and the honors which the Pisans bestowed upon them after their death are recorded on the two most important epigraphical documents of Pisae. The inscriptions indicate a community of considerable importance. The remains of buildings are few [8].

MINOR CULTS.

Dedications, which do not indicate an official cult, are preserved for CERES [9] (an offering made by Nero's famous freedwoman,

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[6] See my paper on the *Latina colonia of Livy XL*, 43, *Class Phil*. Jan. 1921. The chief basis for believing that the colony was at Luca comes from the fact that Velleius I 15 mentions the establishment of a colony at that city in 177. Since that was the year Luna was colonized (Livy XLI 13) Luca is probably a mistake for Luna in the manuscripts of Velleius.

[7] Cf. Bormann, *CIL*. XI p. 273; Nissen 300.

[8] There are no identified temple remains though the numerous ancient columns in the churches of Pisa suggest that there were many in antiquity. Remains of a temple are to be seen in the Archivio del Duomo (Nissen 289) and columns with composite capitals in the ruined church of San Felice (Dennis, II 72) probably indicate another temple.

[9] 1414. C]ereri sacrum [Claudia ?] Aug. lib. Acte.

Acte), FORTUNA PRIMIGENIA[10], the great goddess of Praeneste, and BONA DEA[11].

CULTS OF COLLEGIA

Two dedications to Mercury, one made by two *magistri* and the other by a group of men[12], probably preserve a trace of the widespread worship of Mercury as god of trade by the collegia Mercatorum or Mercurialium[13]. Another *collegium* worshipped Hercules Somnialis. A fragmentary list of twenty one names is headed by the words (1549): V. f. Cultores Herculis Somnialis Decuria (Prima) dis manibus sibi et posterisque suis ii qui infra scripti sunt. Although the only man whose status is indicated is an *ingenuus*, the character of the *cognomina*, eight of which are Greek, indicates that the members of this college were descended from slaves. It was doubtless as merchants or tradesmen that they venerated Hercules under the elsewhere unknown *cognomen* Somnialis[14]. This epithet is to be associated with the god's function as protector of hidden treasures, the very existence of which he sometimes revealed to his devotees in a dream This aspect of the god is familiar from Horace's discoverer of hidden treasures *dives amico Hercule*[15]. The closest parallel to Hercules Somnialis is Hercules Cubans whose recently discovered shrine at Rome beyond the Tiber in the gardens of Caesar was said to have a treasure of gold buried beneath the god's image[16]. With these two epithets are also to be associated Macrobius's account [17] of the temple to Hercules erected in obedience to a dream by M. Octavius Herennus and several dedications to the god made ex viso, ex responso Herculis [18].

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[10] 1415. M. Cossutius M. l. Dom.... L. Valerius L. l. Autioc]*hus*] marmorari F(ortunae) P(rimigeniae) d(onum) d(ant) l(ibentes) m(erito).

[11] 1413. Sulpicia C. lib. Saturnina B(onae) D(eae) d(onum) d(edit).

[12] 1417. *Mi*]nucius Alexander [*P*]apirius Phileros magistri Mercurio sacr. Two broken marble *cippi* have inscriptions (1416) sacr[um] Merc[*urio*] with several fragmentary names between the two words.

[13] Cf. Steuding s. v. Mercurius, Roscher 2805.

[14] *CIL*. XII 235* Herculi somniali ex responso is a forgery.

[15] Cf. Horace, *Sat*. II, 6, 12 and the comments of the scholiasts on the passage. For all the material on this cult see Peter, s. v. Hercules, Roscher I 2, 2961-2; Boehm, s. v. *Pauly-Wissowa*, 589.

[16] Mentioned in the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum*. In the latter is the following gloss: Herculem sub terram medium cubantem sub quem plurimum auri positus est. On the identification of this shrine see Jordan-Huelsen, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*. I, 3, 644.

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

Two important documents [19], both in more or less fragmentary form, record the decrees passed by the *decuriones* of Pisae when news was received in 2 A. D. and in 4 A. D. of the deaths of Lucius and Gaius, Augustus's grandsons who were both patrons of the colony [20].

In the honors accorded the two youths there is however no suggestion of the divine honors [21] bestowed on these princes in the East or even in Gaul where the Maison Carrée was erected to them at Nemausus, probably while both were still alive. The measures taken by the Pisan senate represent simply an official performance on the part of the community of the regular Roman ritual associated with the cult of the dead. The special reason for this ritual is found in the fact that the Pisans stood in the close family relation of clients to patron toward Lucius and Gaius. The altar with enclosure provided for in the decree after Lucius died was a cenotaph constructed according to a common form of Roman tomb such as can be seen today at Pompeii [22]. The mourning garments of the magistrates who sacrifice to the Manes with veiled head, the black victims with dark fillets, the libations of milk, honey, and oil, the individual offerings of wax tapers, torches, and wreaths, all belonged to the ritual of the Roman *Parentalia* as practised both on the regular days of the festival (February 13 to 21)[23] and on such special occasions as the birthday of the deceased or, as in this case, the anniversary of his death[24]. The second document provides that during the period from the receipt of the news of Gaius's death until his burial the forms of mourning used in Roman state practice were to be observed. All citizens were to wear mourning garments, the women were to make public lamentation, and all temples, baths, and shops were to be closed. Arrangements are made in this second decree for sacrifices to be performed every year on the anniversary of Gaius's death also at the altar that had been erected to the Manes of Lucius. The earlier document provides that for the observance of Lucius's death (quae eodem illo die vitari caverive placuissent placerentque) the Pisans should follow the decree passed by the Roman senate[25]. For the anniversary of Gaius's death the directions in the next inscription are more explicit. Henceforth the day is to be like the *dies Alliensis*. On it no public sacrifices, thanksgivings, betrothals, banquets, circus or theatrical games are to be held. For the colony of Pisae it is to be among the *dies religiosi* of the calendar. Although there is no proof either in literature or in the *fasti* that a similar decree was passed at Rome, still from the provisions of the earlier record that the anniversary of Lucius's death is to be observed as at Rome it is possible that such was the case for both Gaius and Lucius. The honor heaped upon the youths in their lifetime might prepare one for so signal an indication of the loss to the state when Augustus's greatest hopes for the future were cut off.

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[17] Macrob. *Sat.* III VI, 11 who quotes the story from the *Memorabilia* of Masurius Sabinus.

[18] *CIL.* VI 301 ; VIII, 9610. Cf. the inscriptions found in the shrine in Trastevere mentioned above *CIL.* VI 30891-2.

[19] 1420, 1421. The second document contains the tentative measures taken by the *decuriones* at a moment when because of local strife there were no magistrates in the colony, and the subsequent confirmation according to regular municipal procedure of what had previously been done.

[20] Lucius is definitely called a patron of the colony in 1420, and the words *coloniae nostrae unicum praesidium* in 1421 justify the same conclusion with regard to Gaius.

[21] *CIL.* XII, 3156 ; cf. the evidence for the cult of Gaius and Lucius summarized by Heinen, *Klio*, XI (1911), 176-7.

[22] Cf. for instance the large tomb on the left just outside the Vesuvius gate.

The second decree provides also for the erection of a triumphal arch with a statue of Gaius upon it clad in the garb of triumph, and gilded equestrian statues of him and of his brother. From this arch, Bormann thinks, may have come a fragment of a monumental inscription with the words *tur*]mae minorum[26]. The reference is unquestionably to the lusus Troiae, athletic games for young boys revived by Julius Caesar and given great prominence by Augustus[27]. With these games Gaius and Lucius were closely concerned as *principes iuventutis*.

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[23] Cf. the use of the word *parentari*, 1421, l. 33. See Blümner, *Römische Privataltertümer* 509 ff.; Wissowa, 232 f.

[24] Cf. Kobbert s. v. *Religiosi dies*, Pauly-Wissowa who however erroneously quotes this passage as referring to the death of Caesar. See also Wissowa, 443 f.

[25] On the honors bestowed upon Lucius and Gaius after their deaths, see Gardthausen, *Augustus and seine Zeit*, III, I, 1126 f.; 1145 f.

The meeting of the *decuriones* which passed the decree for Lucius was held *in foro in Augusteo*. The official who was to communicate the will of the *decuriones* to Augustus in the second document was a *flamen Augustalis*. Thus we have from the years 2 and 4 A. D. valuable evidence for an official cult of the Emperor's Genius, with a temple in the city's Forum and a priest in charge of the worship. The earliest evidence elsewhere for such a municipal cult, which seems to have become general before Augustus's death, dates from 2 B. C.[28]

Augustalis as a title for an individual is attested in several cases[29] and *sevir Augustalis* in one case (1445).

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

The *flamen Augustalis* referred to (1421) is also *pontifex minor publicorum p(opuli) R(omani) sacrorum*. This title represents not a local office but a Roman priesthood of equestrian rank[30]. Similarly the *augur* (1437) does not belong to Pisae. *Haruspices* may be referred to in one inscription (1443).

MITHRAS.

A mediocre bas-relief of Mithras Tauroctonos, now in the Campo Santo of Pisa, was discovered walled up in a building of the city[31]. It is impossible to say whether it came originally from Pisa or was brought with numerous other stones to Pisa from Ostia where the worship of Mithras was particularly strong.

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[26] 1422. Cf. Bormann's note *ad loc.*

[27] Suet. Caes. 39. Troiam lusit turma duplex maiorum minorumque puerorum. See Marquardt-Friedländer, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* III 526; Rostowzew, *Klio* Beiheft III (1905), 65 ff.

[28] See *Trans. Am. Phil. Assoc.* LI (1920) 116-133.

[29] 5442, 1444, 1449; *Augustalis perpetuus*, 1446.

[30] Cf. Habel, *De pontificum Romanorum . . . condicione publica* 93; Wissowa 519.

[31] Cumont, *Textes et Monuments* II 257, n. 100, fig. 95. On the discovery of the bas-relief Cumont quotes the stament " ritrovato incassato in un muro dello stabile dei signori eredi Chiocchino in Pisa. "

CHRISTIANITY.

A Christian church is attested for Pisae in 313 at which date Gaudentius, a bishop of Pisae, is mentioned among the prelates who attended the Synod of Rome [32]. Earlier than this the Martyrology quotes under May 17 from the annals of Pisan history the name of S. Topez, a martyr who was beheaded here in 66 A. D. after having been miraculously preserved from the wild beasts in Rome [33]. He is said to have been one of the Christians in the household of Nero whom Paul refers to in the Epistle to the Philippians. A good woman, Celerina, was said to have buried him and his head was kept as a relic in the church of S. Petrus ad Gradum.

LUCA.

The town is first mentioned in 218 B. C. in a passage, the accuracy of which has been questioned on the ground of military probability (Livy XXI 59). According to Velleius (I 15) a colony was established here in 177, but there is strong reason to believe that Luca is a misreading for Luna [34], a town which received a citizen colony in that year. Luca remained outside the boundaries of Etruria until the time of Augustus. It is famous as the scene of the conference between Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus in 56 B. C. It was then a *municipium*, but a colony was established there either by the triumvirs or by Octavian [35].

The religious evidence consists in a record of a burial college, the CULTORES MARTIS [36] and of two AUGUSTALES, one of whom held the same office at Pisae (1528, 7023).

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[32] Optatus, *De Schism.* I 23.

[33] Bracco, *Martyrologium Romanum*, Appendix to Surius, *Vitae Sanctorum*.

[34] See *Classical Philology*, January 1921

[35] Cicero, *ad Fam.* XIII 13; Kornemann s. v. *Coloniae*, Pauly Wissowa, 525.

[36] 1530. Martis cultorum in fron. p. I... in agr. p. X....

17. LUNA.

Luna falls within the scope of this study only because in Augustus's reorganization of Italy this city, which had hitherto belonged to Liguria, was included with the Etruscan towns in Region VII. Its territory according to Livy had once been Etruscan [1], but any Etruscan possession of it must have been brief. Although the port is mentioned several times earlier [2], once in a fragment of Ennius (*Ann.* I 12 Vahlen), the town seems not to have existed before 177 when, following the deportation of 47,000 Ligures Apuani, a colony of Roman citizens with very generous land grants was established there as a bulwark against the Ligurians (Livy XLI 13). A monument to Marcus Claudius Marcellus set up in the Forum of Luna commemorating his triumph over the Ligures Apuani marked the end of these struggles in 155 B. C. (*CIL.* XI 1339, I 2^2 623). After that we hear little of the city until a century later when Luna began to export from the quarries five miles away the splendid marble that was the favorite building material of the Empire [3].

Terracottas from Luna attributed to successive restorations of a temple belonging, Milani thought, to the third and second century B. C. are today to be seen in the Archaeological Museum in Florence [4]. The earliest group represents Juno seated on a throne. Beside her is Apollo Citharoedus and a figure with cornucopia which Milani calls the Genius of Jupiter. Other pediments show groups of Niobids, including a Niobid on horseback. Still another group represents Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, with a fourth divinity whom Milani identifies as Neptune. This group, Milani thinks, was a later restoration that replaced the earlier pediment. But the information as to the exact spot where the various statues were discovered is inadequate and the restorations conducted under Milani's directions have been arbitrary. It is possible that more than one temple is represented. The last group of terracottas at any rate seems to belong to the Capitolium.

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[1] Livy XLI 13 de Liguribus captus *is* ager erat; Etruscorum antequam Ligurum fuerat.

[2] Livy XXXIV 8 and 56; XXXIX 21 and 32.

[3] On the location of Luna's port which lay not in the Gulf of Spezia, as has often been maintained, but at the mouth of the river Macra, see Pareti, *Atene e Roma* XXI (1918) 131-158 and Schiaffini's note in vol. XXII 103-4, of the same journal.

[4] See Milani, *Il Reale Museo Arch. di Firenze.* I 248-251.

CAPITOLINE TRIAD.

Three inscriptions, all of them connected with emperors, attest the worship of the Capitoline Triad at Luna. One of them is addressed to Nero and Poppaea and represents the fulfilment of a vow for their safety made in the Balearic Isles by a Roman knight who had held high office at Luna[5]. Its conclusion, ubi vellet ponere voto compos pos[u]it Iovi Iunoni Minervae Felicitati Romae Divo Augusto, recalls the sacrifices of the Arval Brethren on the Capitoline in which Felicitas, like Salus and Concordia, sometimes receives a victim along with the Capitoline Triad, and the deified Augustus[6]. Another dedication addressed Tra(iano) A(ugust.) s(acrum) I. O. M. was set up *ex voto* by a slave[7]. Another altar to Iuppiter Optimus

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[5] 1331. A practically identical inscription is found on two sides except that one side is addressed Divae Poppaeae Augustae imp. Neronis Caesaris August. and the other Imp. Neroni Claudio divi Claudi f. Germ Caesaris n. Ti. Caesaris Aug. pron. divi Aug. abn. Caesari Aug. Germ. p. m. tr. pot. XIII imp. XI cos. IIII. The rest of the inscription reads : L. Titinius L. f. Gal. Glaucus Lucretianus flam. Romae et Aug. IIvir IIII p. c. sevir eq. R. curio praef. fabr. cos. tr. milit. leg. XXII Primig. praef. pro legato insular. Baliarum tr. mil. leg. VI Victricis ex voto suscepto pro salute imp. Neronis quod Baliaribus voverat anno A. Licinio Nerva cos. IIviris L. Saufeto Vegeto et Q. Aburio Nepote, ubi vellet ponere voti compos pos(u)it Iovi Iunon[i] Minervae Felicitati Romae Divo Augusto. The date of the inscription is 66 A. D.

[6] Cf. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, *passim*. In the reign of Nero such sacrifices are recorded in 58, 59 (twice), 60, and 66.

[7] 1320. O. N. E. C. (?) Tra. A. S. I. O. M. ex voto posuit Aithales vilic. Flori ser. The meaning of the first letters which seem to be identical with letters at the beginning of a dedication to Hercules Adiutor (1319) is not clear. Tra. A. s. is perhaps to be restored Tra(iano) A(ugusto) s(acrum).

Maximus on behalf of the safety of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna was dedicated on the Emperor's birthday by the *frumentarius* of a legion [8]. The terracotta group representing Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva has been mentioned, and the probability has been stated that the group represents the decoration of a temple to the Triad.

IUPPITER VICTOR.

A fragmentary *ex voto* seems to indicate an official cult of this god [9].

IUPPITER SALUTARIS.

A fragmentary altar from here seems to be a private dedication to this god [10].

FORTUNA.

Three dedications, all of them *ex voto*, indicate a special cult of this goddess. One of them seems from the absence of a *cognomen* to be of early imperial date [11].

HERCULES.

Two dedications seem to belong to a municipal cult. One of them to Hercules Adiutor was made by a slave in behalf of his master; the other is an *ex voto* addressed simply to Hercules [12].

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[8] 1323. I. O. M. pro salute impp. L. Septimi Severi et M. Aur. Antonini Augg. . . . . et Iul. Aug. matr. cas. sub cura Fl. Muciani (centurionis) fr(umentariorum) M. Firmidius Spectatus fr. leg. II Ital. p. f. Optio consacravit item dedicavit II Idus Apr. Severo et Victor cos.

[9] 6943. The first two lines are almost unintelligible, but the last two lines read probably as follows: Nymphodo[tus p]ro reditu n(umini) Iovis Victo[ris] v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).

[10] 6944. [I]ovi [S]a[luta]ri? ex ius[su] ipsius p[o]sui[t] P . . . [t]ilius . . . medi[c(us)] d[upl(iciarius)] cl(assis) pr(aetor) Rav(ennatis)?].

[11] 1316 T. Aebutius C. f. Fortunae v. s. l. m.; 1317. L. Suetius L. l. Amph. F. v. s. l. m.; 1318. M. Vinisidius M. l. Epaphra v. s. l. m. Fort[*unae*].

[12] 1319 O. N. . Her. Adiut. pro salu. Q. Pomp. Ro. Philocalu ser. posuit. (on the first letters see comments on the dediction to I. O. M., 1320). 1321 L. Titinius L. et Q. l. Memno H. v. s. l. m.

BELLONA.

The fulfilment of a vow to Bellona by a slave of Vespasian is recorded in a dedication[13]. This is probably the old Italic divinity of war whose temple at Rome was dedicated in 296 B. C. during the war against Etruscans and Samnites. It must however be borne in mind that this divinity is often difficult to distinguish from the Cappadocian Ma-Bellona whose cult became prominent under the Empire. The cult at Luna seems to have been official in nature.

MENS BONA.

A cult which is rare in this region, though better known in Southern Italy, is that of Mens Bona to whom a *vilicus* set up an altar[14]. A temple of Mens, who is identical with Mens Bona, was vowed at Rome in 217 B. C. The cult was probably introduced from Campania.

SILVANUS.

This god, worshipped regularly in small shrines rather than in official temples, is the recipient of four dedications from Luna. One of them seems to have been set up by the *vilicus* of the man who made the dedication to the Numen Iovis Victoris[15]. The stone, as described in the manuscript where the inscription is preserved, had on it a representation of a type familiar for Silvanus — a nude man with a skin over his arm, standing between a dog and a tree about which a serpent is entwined. The same manuscript has a drawing of a relief, also from Luna[16]. On it a nude bearded figure, presumably Silvanus, is standing between Hercules and Liber Pater. Another dedication to the god appears on an altar that has on it a relief of a sacrificial scene — flute players, a man who seems to be sacrificing, and an altar with flames on it. The inscription on the altar is as follows (6948) : Imp. Caesare August. XII M. Plautio Silvan. cos.

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[13] 1315. Bellone Stephanus imp. Vespasiani Caesaris Aug. v. s. l. m.

[14] 1327. Menti Bonae sacrum Felix vilicus posuit.

[15] 6947 . . . . vico sacrum Silvano Hermes s. Baebi Nymphod[o]ti vilicus fecit (last two lines unintelligible). 6946 is another dedication to Silvanus which is most obscure. Here again the dedication seems to have been made by a man named Hermes.

[16] Described in the *Corpus* under 6947.

L. Screibonius Libonis l. Diogenes Silvano (2 B. C.). The other dedications to the god are brief and lack any distinguishing marks [17].

HOUSEHOLD LARES AND JUNO OF THE MISTRESS.

An interesting parallel to the dedications to the genius of the master and the household Lares that became frequent in private cult particularly after the cult of the Lares Augusti was reorganized by Augustus is furnished by the following inscription (1324): Iunoni Iusta[e] n(ostrae) voto suscepto pro salute eius Cleanthus l(ibertus) Prixus Helle (probably a slave) Lar(ibus) d(onum) d(ant). Here the Juno of the mistress is combined with the Lares [18].

CULT OF THE EMPERORS.

The title *flamen Romae et Augusti* occurs in two dedications, one of which is made for Nero's safety (1331, 6955). Evidently here as in several other Italian towns — Pola, Ostia, Terracina, Ulubrae, and Tridentum — the provincial worship of Roma and Augustus had its effect on the municipal cult of the ruler. The dedication for Nero's safety, already discussed under the Capitoline Triad, is addressed to Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Felicitas, Roma, and divus Augustus. The flamen Romae et Augusti seems to have combined the cult of living and dead emperors.

There are fragmentary records of a *flamen* (1342) and perhaps of a *flamen divi Claudii* (1349a). *Augustalis* as the title for an individual occurs in one inscription (1344).

The union of Felicitas, a goddess who held an important place in the imperial cult, with the gods of the Capitoline Triad has already been mentioned.

MAGNA MATER.

A record of the college of *dendrophori* indicates the cult of Magna Mater here (1355 B).

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[17] 6945 S(ilvano) s(acrum)? The following inscription occurs on a circular tile (6949, *Notizie* 1898, 182, 11): P. Servilius P. l. Priamus Sil(vano) sa(crum).

[18] It is uncertain whether the following inscription is a dedication to the Lares or to Liber (1325): M. Honorius M. l. Philoda L. v. s. l. m.

IUPPITER SABAZIUS.

A dedication to the Phrygian god Iuppiter Sabazius for which a place was granted by decree of the *decuriones* seems to indicate an official cult (1323)[19].

LIBER PATER.

An official cult of this god seems to be indicated by a fragmentary record of a priest or priests of the altars of Liber Pater, who make a dedication in behalf of the safety of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna and in behalf of the well-being of the city and *curia* of Luna[20]. This worship, like the cult of Liber Pater that was important at Portus from the time of Commodus, and that was also known at Puteoli, probably represents not the old Italic Liber but an orgiastic Oriental divinity. The great temple which Septimius Severus built at Rome to Hercules and Liber, whom he identified with the gods of his native Leptis, may be cited in connection with this worship of Liber from the reign of Severus. The altar from Luna with representations of Hercules and Liber Pater is interesting in this connection.

OFFICIAL PRIESTS.

There is one record of an *augur* (1326). The *flamines* have been listed under the discussion of the cult of the Emperors. The *sacerdotes ararum dei . . . Liberi Patris* have also been mentioned.

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[19] 1323. St. Mettius Zethus Iovi Sabazio d(onum) l(ibens) d(edit) l. d. d. d.

[20] 1335 [Pro salut]e imp. Caes. M. Aureli [Antonin]i Pii Felicis August. [et Iuliae] Augustae matri Au[gusti n. et ca]strorum totiusque [domus di]vinae et pro statu civitatis [et] c[u]riae Lunae sac(erdotes) arar[u]m dei . . . [Libe]ri Patris. In restoring the last part of the inscription a new fragment is available and is noted in the unpublished sections of the *Corpus* p. 1254.

18. THE ETRUSCAN LEAGUE UNDER THE EMPIRE AND THE ORDO LX HARUSPICUM.

Originally there was, as we have seen in the introduction, probably more than one league in Etruria. The cities which promised to help the Latins against Tarquinius Priscus, an Etruscan king of Rome, Arretium, Clusium, Rusellae, Vetulonia, and Volaterrae, may for instance have formed one such league. When the number of cities became established as twelve it is impossible to say but the earliest accounts of their gatherings come from the late fifth century at a time when Rome and Veii were preparing for a death struggle. Veii, Capena, and Falerii then acted with the league which met every year and performed games and religious rites *ad fanum Voltumnae* — a shrine known only from Livy's references to it.

The cult of this goddess is nowhere else attested. Her name has been associated by Schulze (p. 252) with the gens name Ultimne, known from the inscriptions of Clusium, but the name has a Latin sound and one may well question whether the Etruscan league did not adopt as its gathering-place a shrine of an Italic goddess already established in the region. The location of the goddess's shrine is equally uncertain. The reorganized Etruscan league under the late empire at least met in the territory of Volsinii (aput Volsinios), and on the basis of that fact the fanum Voltumnae has been sought in the neighborhood of that city, and particularly, though without special reason, at Monte Fiascone and at Orvieto. The tenacity with which, among the Latins for instance, the old places of union were retained would certainly lead one to expect the Etruscans to continue their gatherings in the same place. But other places of meeting are attested for the league by Etruscan records long known but clearly understood only since Rosenberg demonstrated their significance [1]. These records of Etruscan magistrates show that at various times the Etruscan league met in Clusium and in Tarquinii — important towns, one of which, as the home of Lars Porsenna, was the head of a north Etruscan league, while the other, as the city of Tages, was the center of the *Etrusca disciplina*. The criteria for dating the inscriptions are inadequate, and it is impossible to determine whether the place of meeting rotated from city to city or was fixed for a long period of time. In any case there is a possibility that the imperial gatherings *aput Volsinios* have no connection with the *fanum Voltumnae* but simply indicate that the seat of the imperial league had been permanently established in the territory of Volsinii.

The league that met at the shrine of Voltumna had at its head an annually elected officer called *sacerdos*, who was in charge of the games and who also seems to have had semi-magisterial functions as a representative of the league. The office was much sought after and the elections were on one occasion at least hotly contested. The celebration consisted of *ludi*, presumably theatrical in nature, for the men who took part in them are called *artifices*.

In the late fourth century, as Bormann's important investigation has shown [2], the league probably consisted of the following members: Arretium, Caere, Clusium, Cortona, Perusia, Populonia, Rusellae, Tarquinii, Vetulonia, Volaterrae, Volci, and Volsinii — twelve cities all of which persisted as independent communities under the Empire. This list seems to be substantially correct for a period between 343, when Falerii entered into alliance with Rome, and some date before 310, when Caere was made a city with half rights. There must have been numerous other towns which, while not numbered among the twelve cities, took part in the gatherings. For instance the Etruscan community on the site of Viterbo has furnished records of officials of the league. It is impossible to follow the history of the organization through the republic. Eight of its cities, all of which except Caere seem to have been allied towns, contributed to Scipio's equipment in 205 B. C. but the contributions were made by individual towns and not collectively. The league may have continued its meetings but it more probably disappeared until the early empire when a reorganization, doubtless of a purely religious character, took place.

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[1] Rosenberg, *Der Staat der alten Italiker* 51-71.

[2] Bormann, *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* XI (1887) 103-126. See introduction.

The earliest evidence for such a revival comes from a bas-relief found with statues of the Julio-Claudian house in the theatre of Caere [3]. The relief on a broken slab of marble with a border at one side has three figures on the section that survives. The first figure, a man standing beneath a pine tree and holding a rudder over his left shoulder, has beneath it the inscription Vetulonenses. He is presumably Neptunus. The second figure on a raised base is a seated woman clothed in a sleeved garment and mantle and holding in her extended right hand an object that is probably a flower, and not, as some have believed, a bird. Below is the inscription V[ol]centani. The third figure, again on a raised base, represents a bearded male in tunic and toga, the latter of which is drawn over his head in the manner common in scenes of sacrifice. The designation Tàrquinienses below him favors his identification with Tarchon, the eponymous hero of Tarquinii. Above the figures are garlands joined by a floating Cupid. On the rear edge of the relief behind the figure marked Tarquinienses is a small vertical frieze showing an altar with a swine upon it and a tree behind it. Evidently this edge was intended to project so that the inner relief could be seen. The suggestion was made by Canina that the relief belonged to the same monument as the colossal statue of Claudius, which was found in the theatre. The emperor's interest in Etruria is familiar and the twelve (or fifteen) cities might have erected to him in gratitude some such monument as the Asiatic cities which Tiberius restored after an earthquake set up to Tiberius in the Forum Iulium [4]. Like the base from Puteoli, which is a copy of the monument to Tiberius, the bas-relief from Caere may be a copy of an honorary monument to Claudius erected somewhere at Rome.

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[3] Benndorf-Schœne, *Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranischen Museums*, p. 130; Helbig, *Führer*, II, p. 15.

[4] *CIL.* X 1624; Tac. *Ann.* II 47. The base is now in the Naples Museum.

If the statue and the reliefs really belong together, and there is nothing in the style or material that would oppose the belief that they do, the relief probably adorned the chair in which the emperor sat. The statue, strongly idealized in features, and following the type of seated Zeus, with civic crown, would well suit such a monument. There is good reason to believe that the fragment which we possess was only a section of one side of the monument. As Bormann has shown, the position of the garlands in the relief makes it probable that there were two figures to the left of the figure representing Vetulonia, and, since the names are alphabetized according to the ancient method, by initial letter only, the other two figures probably represented the Volsinienses and the Volaterrani [5]. Inscriptions, some of which, though not definitely dated, seem to belong to the first century, supplement the evidence of this bas-relief. Two titles, *praetor* and *aedilis Etruriae XV populorum*, known from fifteen inscriptions, show that there was a league made up not, as in the fourth century, of twelve cities, but of fifteen. Praetors of Etruria are known from Clusium, Volsinii, Perusia, Tarquinii, and Pisae in Etruria; from Vettona in Umbria, where the inscription may have originally come from Etruria; from Ostia, where the holder of the title was probably a native of Faesulae; and from Marsi Marruviorum, where the title is given to a prominent Roman of senatorial rank who has no obvious connection with Etruria [6]. The emperor Hadrian is also known from a statement in his life to have held the office [7]. The praetorship of Etruria seems in general to have been a title that men of senatorial rank did not hesitate to accept. *Aediles* of Etruria are known from Clusium and Caere [8]. It is uncertain whether the men recorded in fragmentary inscriptions of Cortona and Volsinii are praetors or aediles[9]. The evidence of the Caere bas-relief and these inscriptions enables us to conclude that Caere, Clusium, Cortona, Perusia, Tarquinii, Vetulonia, Volci[10], and Volsinii, eight of the twelve cities which, as we have seen, made up the fourth century league, were members of the imperial league; there seems no good reason to doubt that the other four members of the earlier league, Arretium, Populonia, Rusellae, and Volaterrae, all of them independent municipalities under the Empire, were also members of the restored imperial organization. Since praetors of Etruria are known from Pisae and probably Faesulae, cities that before Sulla were beyond the boundaries of Etruria, it is likely that the imperial league of fifteen cities included these two towns and possibly Florentia, as well as the twelve cities of the late fourth century league[11]. Evidently the league meetings, like the gatherings that Veii's king broke up, were signalized by games and other festivities, for one of the records of a praetor of Etruria mentions the performance of *ludi Etruriae* (XI 5170). Evidently too sacrifices accompanied the celebration, for a Roman knight who was a magistrate of Arretium, held the title *iuratus ad sacra Etruriae* (1848). The most important document of this league is an inscription from Hispellum in Umbria that contains an appeal to the Emperor Constantine and his reply (XI 5265). At this time Umbria participated with Etruria in the festivities which took place every year in the territory of Volsinii; such had perhaps been the case since Diocletian's reorganization combined Etruria and Umbria as an administrative unit. The Umbrians, finding Volsinii too far distant, appealed to the Emperor to be allowed a separate celebration at Hispellum. Their request was granted provided that the Umbrians, like the Tuscans in the yearly celebration near Volsinii, should elect an annual *sacerdos* and perform games — *spectaculum tam scenicorum ludorum quam gladiatorii muneris*. A slightly later inscription of

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[5] For plans for restoring the monument see Bormann, *op. cit.* 126.

[6] *CIL.* XI 2114 (Clusium, fragmentary); 2115 (Clusium, late cursus of Roman knight); 1941 (Perusia, municipal cursus); 3364 (Tarquinii, senatorial cursus); 2699 (Volsinii. Late. Cursus probably equestrian); 1432 (Pisae, senatorial cursus); 5170 (Vettona); IX 3667 (Marsi Marruviorum, senatorial cursus); XIV 172 (Ostia, equestrian cursus? of a man who was probably a native of Faesulae).

[7] *Vita*, c. 19 in Etruria praeturam imperator egit.

[8] XI 2116 (Clusium, municipal cursus); cf. also 1806 which may record another case; 3615 (= 3257, Caere, municipal cursus).

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[9] 1905; 7287 (Notizie 1903, 367).

[10] The bas-relief from Caere provides the only reason for including Volci in the list.

[11] This seems more probable than the belief of Bormann that the additional cities were the new divisions of Arretium and Clusium which Pliny mentions (*N. H.* III 52) — the Arretini fidentiores and Iulienses and the Clusini novi.

Hispellum is set up to a certain C. Matrinius Aurelius Antoninus vir perfectissimus who holds the unique title *coronatus Tusc(iae) et Umb(riae)*; he had performed the two-fold games (*abundantissimi muneris sed et praecipuae laetitiae theatralis* [*edit*]o[*ri*], (*CIL.* XI 5283). The references to *sacerdos* and *ludi* recall the stormy election and the games *quos intermitti nefas est* which Livy describes in the fifth century. Moreover, as Rosenberg has shown, the praetors and aediles of the imperial league are the direct survival of the officers of the early league, the *zilath* and the *marunuch* of various Etruscan inscriptions.

With this revival of the league I would associate the *ordo LX haruspicum* mentioned in a number of inscriptions [12]. The *haruspex* is apparently the Latin equivalent of the Etruscan word for priest. The Etruscan *haruspex* was the possessor of the *Etrusca disciplina*, the science of Etruscan divination through the interpretation of victims, the explanation of lightning and of prodigies. The *haruspices* were chosen from the aristocracy of the Etruscan towns and the lore was often passed down from father to son so that the office, like certain special Etruscan priesthoods, was almost hereditary [13]. We hear of them first at Rome under Tarquinius Superbus. During the early centuries of the Republic their influence seems to have waned, but in the Second Punic War, when Hannibal was menacing the safety and lives of all, they came into great prominence and from then down into the Christian period they are mentioned frequently. They never have the official character of the *quindecemviri sacris faciendis* to whom were entrusted the Sibylline Books, Greek oracles which were frequently appealed to in time of danger. The *haruspices* were indeed not Romans but foreigners who were summoned to help Roman citizens. Yet it is noteworthy that their *responsa*, unlike the Sibylline oracles, made no recommendations for the introduction of foreign worship to Rome; they regularly recommended ceremonies according to the *patruus* or *graecus ritus* (Wissowa 543ff.). In spite of the essentially foreign character of the *haruspices*, the Roman senate was vitally interested in keeping the priesthoods from dying out and accordingly — during the second century B. C. probably — it passed a measure requiring that a certain number (variously given as six and ten) of sons of the Etruscan *principes* in every Etruscan city should be trained in the *disciplina*[14]. It was doubtless these *haruspices* from individual cities (in the early Empire perhaps five from each of the twelve or four from each of the fifteen cities) who made up the *ordo LX haruspicum* of which we hear first in an inscription dating probably from the end of the Republic[15]. The *haruspex summus* who warned Caesar not to go to Africa before the winter solstice (Cicero, *de Div.* II 52) was probably the head of the *ordo*, corresponding in position to the *magister publicus haruspicum* and perhaps to the *haruspex primarius* of imperial inscriptions. Members of the order, Etruscans who had an official position at Rome, are to be distinguished from the private *haruspices* who practised the art of divination at Rome and indeed all over the Roman world. The latter were probably the ones who brought the whole group into disrespect and suspicion and who gave rise to such comments as that of Cato who wondered why one *haruspex* did not laugh when he saw another (Cicero, *de Div.* II 51). It was because of their irresponsible activity that Augustus forbade consulting the *haruspices* about anyone's death (Cassius Dio LVI 25).

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[12] On the *haruspices* I am much indebted to Thulin's authoritative studies *Die Etruskische Disciplin*, parts I-III, Göteborg, 1906-1909, and the articles *Etrusca disciplina* and *haruspices*, Pauly-Wissowa.

[13] On the semi-hereditary character of the haruspices see Cicero, *De Div.* I 92 *De Leg.* II 21 ; *ad Fam.* VI 6 ; Tac. *Ann.* XI 15 ; *CIL.* XIII 3694, XIV 164.

In Etruria proper the *haruspices* are associated particularly with Tarquinii[16]. There the *ordo LX haruspicum*, which also at a later time at least possessed a seat at Rome, had its treasury; there too, as Bormann has brilliantly demonstrated, a series of *elogia* of writers renowned for their discussions of the *disciplina Etrusca* was set up. One of these *elogia* preserves what seems to be the name of Tarquitius Priscus, a native perhaps of Veii, a writer whose Latin works on Etruscan lore are several times mentioned. It was fitting that Tarquinii should be a centre for the order, for there Tages, the miraculous boy with the appearance of youth and the wisdom of age, is said to have sprung from the soil which a peasant was ploughing; there too the chiefs of Etruria gathered from every hand to learn and write down his revelations — the basis for the future *Etrusca disciplina*. It is perhaps significant that the other place where inscriptions of *haruspices* are particularly numerous is Clusium, for it will be remembered that Tarquinii and Clusium are the two towns where Etruscan inscriptions show that the league met. The *Etrusca disciplina* was inseparably connected with the twelve cities of Etruria and it can hardly be doubted that under the Empire the *ordo LX haruspicum* and the league of the XV populi were closely related.

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[14] Cicero, *De Div.* I 92. Etruria autem de caelo tacta scientissime animadvertit eademque interpretatur, quod quibusque ostendatur monstris atque portentis. Quocirca bene apud maiores nostros senatus tum cum florebat imperium decrevit, ut de principum filiis VI ex singulis Etruriae populis in disciplinam traderentur, ne ars tanta propter tenuitatem nominum a religionis auctoritate abduceretur ad mercedem atque quaestum. Valerius Maximus I 1,1 in a similar statement gives the number to be instructed from each city as ten. Traube (quoted by Furtwängler in his significant discussion of the subject, *Die antiken Gemmen* III 269 ff., 271 note) suggests that both the six of Cicero and the ten of Valerius Maximus may be conjectures of scribes. Cf. also Livy IX 36; Tacitus, *Ann.* XI 15.

[15] *CIL.* VI 32439. L Vinulleius L. f. Pom. Lucullus aruspex ex sexaginta.

[16] See discussion of Tarquinii.

We have seen that there is reason to associate the bas-relief of Caere with the monument of the Emperor Claudius. Now Claudius's special interest in Etruscan antiquities is well known. He wrote in Greek a history of the Etruscans in twenty books (Suet. *Claudius* 42). In his preparation of this history he evidently went deep into Etruscan records. A speech of his from the year 45 A. D., fortunately preserved on a bronze tablet from Lyons (*CIL.* XIII 1668) gives us the important information that Servius Tullius's Etruscan name was Mastarna. In his censorship he supported his introduction of three new letters with a history of the alphabet which included a reference to the fact that Demaratus brought the alphabet to Etruria (Tacitus, *Ann. XI* 14). During this same censorship he gave an even more significant manifestation of his interest in Etruscan institutions. In a speech which Tacitus has summarized [17] he called the attention of the senate to the decay of the college of *haruspices*. He recalled the former services of the *haruspices* to the Roman state and the interest the state had taken in the continuance of the order. He deplored the recent neglect of these priests which he attributed to lack of respect for learning and to the importance of foreign superstitions. He urged men not to forget in prosperity sacred rites which had served them well in danger. As a result of his speech the senate passed a decree instructing the pontifices to consider what was to be kept and what was to be amplified in the art of the *haruspices*. The outcome of the pontifices' deliberation is no where mentioned but the bas-relief from Caere may give us some evidence on the subject. The revival of the Etruscan league with which, as we have seen, the *haruspices* had in earlier times been closely associated, probably dates from that time [18] and the establishment of such a league may well have played a part in the antiquarian Emperor's plans to keep an ancient art of divination from giving way completely to Oriental astrology [19]. The league with its positions that noble Romans and even emperors did not scorn to hold, would naturally lend dignity and honor to the ancient culture and learning with which the art of the *haruspices* was inseparably associated.

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[17] Tacitus, *Ann.* XI 15. Rettulit deinde ad senatum super collegio haruspicum ne vetustissima Italiae disciplina per desidiam exolesceret; saepe adversis rei publicae temporibus accitos, quorum monitu redintegratas caerimonias et in posterum rectius habitas; primoresque Etruriae sponte aut patrum Romanorum impulsu

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retinuisse scientiam et in familias propagasse: quod nunc segnius fieri publica circa bonas artes socordia, et quia externae superstitiones valescant, et laeta quidem in praesens omnia, sed benignitati deum gratiam referendam, ne ritus sacrorum inter ambigua culti per prospera oblitterrarentur, factum ex eo senatus consultum, viderent pontifices quae retinenda firmandaque haruspicum. The first words of this passage are usually taken to refer to the establishment of a college of *haruspices*, but such an interpretation is not necessary. I see no reason why the *ordo LX haruspicum* cannot be identical with this collegium.

[18] Bormann believed that Augustus founded the ordo and reorganized the league though he did not associate the two. He calls attention to the advice that Maecenas personally gave to Augustus that he personally appoint several haruspices (Cassius Dio. LII 36,3).

[19] Later in the reign of Claudius there is a record of a lustration of the city performed after a consultation of the haruspices. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* XIII 24.

CONCLUSION.

It is but an incomplete picture of the local cults in Etruria that this investigation presents. Everywhere the evidence is fragmentary, and especially in the cities far away from Rome where references in literature to the cults are almost always lacking, we are often in the dark as to the most fundamental facts of local religious history. Let us see however what the inadequate material at our command reveals as to the cults of the region [1].

The evidence for genuine Etruscan gods must be considered first. Inscriptions in the Etruscan language from Tarquinii, Volsinii, Orvieto, Clusium, Cortona, and Arretium attest the worship of the following divinities : Tinia, Uni, Mera, Selvans, Cilens, Maris, Thuflthas, Culsans, Muantrns, and Klanins. This is but a very small proportion of the gods whose names are known either from the bronze " liver " of Piacenza, the great monument of Etruscan divination, or from the representations on inscribed mirrors and funerary urns. Of these names the god Tinia, whose altars are found at Volsinii and Orvieto and who seems to have been honored in the shrine near Saena, was, we shall see, the close equivalent of the Italic Jupiter. Tinia's place on the bronze of Piacenza is significant, and he was important in the *Etrusca disciplina* as the chief possessor of the thunderbolt. Uni and Mera (Menvra), as we know from their names, are Italic divinities whom Etruscan ritual united with Jupiter as the ruling spirits of their cities. Selvans and Maris are probably Silvanus and Mars, though the former Etruscan god seems more prominent than the woodland Silvanus whom we know from Latin inscriptions. The other gods of Etruscan inscriptions have left no survival in Latin records from the region.

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[1] In the foregoing pages and in the conclusion an effort has been made to distinguish between public and private cults. Especially where the evidence is inscriptional the lines are not always clearly drawn. Records of priests and of dedicatory statues or inscriptions set up by command or consent of magistrates, *decuriones*, *plebs*, or any other group clearly belonging to the municipality, indicate a public cult in which presumably anyone in the community might take part. Religious inscriptions found with temple remains or groups of inscriptions from a single place addressing a god under a particular aspect or with a particular epithet provide evidence along the same line. On the other hand individual dedications by a private citizen to a god may represent nothing more than a small shrine privately erected and not accessible for public worship.

There are other divinities known from non-Etruscan sources, whom tradition has associated with Etruria and therefore with the Etruscans. Such a one is the goddess Voltumna at whose shrine the Etruscan League gathered — a divinity whose name hardly has an Etruscan sound. Such too is Vortumnus, the god of Volsinii, whom Varro refers to as *deus Etruriae princeps*. Again we have to do with a name that seems Latin and a cult that probably goes back to the days before the Etruscans came to the region. The *deus Etruriae princeps* is the chief god perhaps of the region, and not of the people who gave the region its name. The host of divinities that are probably to be regarded as *gens* gods — Nortia of Volsinii, for instance, Hostia of Sutrium, Soranus on Soracte, Feronia in Capena's territory — might any of them be Etruscan; but Feronia and Soranus, we have seen, were probably Sabine, and Etruscan origin is not certain for any of the others.

Far more extensive is the evidence for Italic and particularly for Latin cults in Etruria. For the Italic Jupiter there is no available early evidence except in his combination in the Capitoline Triad. There was an early statue of him carved from the vine at Populonia, and there were cults of Iupiter Tonans near Veii, of Iuppiter Tonans Fulminans near Forum Clodi, of Iuppiter Ciminius near Volsinii, of Iuppiter Iuventus at Sutrium, and of Iuppiter Victor at Rusellae. There are dedications from Perusia, Veii, *Rignano*, Blera, and the island of Elba, in the last four cases under the name I. O. M. There was a temple of Jupiter at Caere. Perhaps these dedications and this temple all indicate his worship with the Capitoline Triad. The not infrequent appearance in Etruria of the name Monte Giove indicates that there, as in Latium, the god was especially honored on hill tops. This deity, whose name in origin is related to *dies*, is the close counterpart of the Etruscan Tinia whose name is closely connected with the Etruscan word for day. Both are gods of light, and we probably have here a genuine identification of two divinities.

Foremost among the divinities of Etruria is Juno, a goddess whose preeminence in the region is noted by Appian (B. C. V. 49): "Perusia is said to have been one of the first twelve cities built by the Etruscans of old in Italy. For this reason they worshipped Hera there, as did the Etruscans in general." The Etruscan name of the goddess *Uni* occurs on the margin of the bronze of Piacenza; she is frequently depicted on Etruscan mirrors and reliefs and she is known from Etruscan inscriptions to have been an important local goddess of Cortona and Saena. At Perusia she was the chief goddess until after the destruction of the city in 40 B. C. when she was displaced by Vulcan. As Juno Regina she was the guiding spirit of Veii, and after the fall of that city she was brought to Rome where her temple on the Aventine continued the worship of conquered Veii. At Tarquinii the same goddess was probably the chief divinity of the city. She was also the protecting goddess of a *pagus* near Visentium. Under the name Uni she was united with Jupiter and Minerva in the great "Etruscan Triad". At Falerii, under the distinctive title Juno Curritis, she had a great political cult; she gave her name to the chief pontifices of the city and to the colony subsequently planted there. At Castrum Novum Juno had an official worship under the otherwise unknown title Juno Historia. At Caere, if we may judge from votive terracottas of the kourotrophos type, there was probably a cult of Juno, and the goddess of childbirth prominent at Pyrgi may equally well have been Juno Lucina who was worshipped in an ancient shrine at Norba, or the closely related Mater Matuta whose early sanctuary has been found at Satricum.

In the Genius iuvenum Tarquiniensium who is honored with Juno Regina at Tarquinii we have perhaps an ancient union with Juno of her natural counterpart Genius, a combination of the male and female principle of life, such as is indicated by the familiar dedications to the Genii of men and the Iunones of women. Such a combination is far more ancient than the union of Jupiter and Juno.

The pater Curris who was worshipped with Juno Curritis at Falerii may also be identical with Genius.

Minerva's importance in Etruria is attested by her inclusion in the Capitoline Triad and by the fact that the *Etrusca disciplina* attributed to her the power to hurl the thunderbolt. Her worship is known particularly at Falerii where an official cult existed as early as the third century B. C. It was from there that her worship on the Caelian was introduced to Rome and a similar origin has been suggested for her more important temple on the Aventine. On Etruscan mirrors she appears frequently, and regularly with the attributes and functions of the Greek Athena. As such she is also found on a terracotta antefix inscribed Mera from Volsinii. Except in the Capitoline Triad her cult is attested elsewhere in Etruria only in a *pagus* near Sutrium.

The great "Etruscan Triad", Juppiter, Juno and Minerva, is not attested anywhere earlier than at Falerii at the beginning of the second century. Far more ancient are the early shrine of the three divinities on the Quirinal at Rome and the great Capitoline temple to them, begun by the Tarquinii and dedicated in the first year of the Republic. The fact that the great temple to the three divinities was dedicated by an Etruscan dynasty and that gods and streets and temples sacred to the three divinities were said to have been essential in every Etruscan city [2] has led to the belief that this combination of gods originated in Etruria. Falerii where the cult of Minerva, elsewhere little attested for an early period, is ancient, has seemed a likely place for the origin of the worship. Since neither Minerva nor Juno Regina belong to the early Roman Pantheon, the home of the combination must be sought outside Rome, but the Quirinal shrine of the Triad, belonging to the pre-Etruscan period, would suggest that the combination was made under Italic rather than under Etruscan influence. Capitolia are known only at Falerii, Faesulae, Luna, and Florentia. But from Servius's statement that temples to these divinities were required in every Etruscan city and from Vitruvius's incidental reference (I 7) to the commanding position to be given in cities to the temples of these gods, and finally from the existence of Capitolia in practically every municipality so far excavated in the west, it seems fair to assume that such temples must everywhere have existed as expressions of Roman power and dominion. It is obvious from this cult how faulty and fragmentary is the evidence on which we have to depend in reconstructing the religious history of Etruria.

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[2] Servius on Aen. I 412. Prudentes Etruscae disciplinae aiunt apud conditores Etruscarum urbium non putatas iustas urbes in quibus non tres portae essent dedicatae et tot viae et tot templa Iovis Junonis Minervae.

Ceres's earliest known cult is recorded in the dialect inscription, probably of sixth century date, from Falerii. This record belongs certainly to the ancient Italic goddess of fertility and not to the worship of Ceres as the equivalent of the Greek Demeter whose cult was introduced at Rome in 496 B. C. at a time when Rome began the importation of grain from the south. It is probable, however, that Falerii's later temple of Ceres, which lay, according to Vitruvius's directions, outside the city, represented not the old Italic divinity but the Greek Demeter under the name Ceres. Such is certainly the case at nearby Capena where a priestess of the goddess is honored because of her performance of Ceres's *caerimoniae*; it is also true of the *pagus* near Nepet where a dedication was made to the goddess on the Cerialia, April 19, 18 A. D. The dedications to the goddess found in and near Volsinii, near Veii, and at Pisae, made by Nero's freedwoman Acte, provide no evidence for an official cult.

Diana, the great goddess of Aricia, the protecting spirit of the Latin League, seems to have had a significant cult only at Nepet where her association with the *iuvenes* indicates her importance and at Fregenae where she has a *cognomen* from the town's name. It may be noted that even in Latium early evidence for the goddess's cult is not widespread. There are private dedications to her from Lucus Feroniae, Sutrium, Volsinii, Sorium, and the neighborhood of Orvieto.

The goddess Feronia had an ancient cult that centred in a grove near Capena and that subsequently became the site of a colony. This grove of the goddess on the banks of the Tiber was the scene of a great annual fair to which merchants gathered from the Etruscans, the Latins, and the Sabines. The cult was probably Sabine in origin; it is attested in many other sections of Italy, but only at Terracina does it seem to be anything like as ancient as at Capena.

Elsewhere in Etruria Feronia is known only in an inscription of Nepet, and even that document may have come originally from the territory of Capena.

Fortuna had an oracle cult at Caere and Falerii, at both of which places a mysterious shrinkage in numbers of the lots is recorded among the *prodigia*. Both these cults were probably related to the great goddess of Praeneste. Numerous dedications to Fortuna are preserved from Etruscan sites but nowhere else is there significant cult evidence.

Neptune probably had a cult at Veii where local saga made him the father of an early king of the city. He seems from the evidence of the bas-relief from Caere to have been the protecting divinity of Vetulonia. The name of the town of Nepet is often associated with Neptune. The god's importance in Etruscan religion is indicated by the fact that the *haruspices* dedicated the gall-bladder to him.

Janus Quadrifrons had a cult at Falerii from which town at some unknown period his image was taken to Rome.

Vulcan, whom Martianus Capella mentions as an Etruscan god who hurled the thunderbolt is known to have been worshipped only at Perusia where his temple escaped destruction in 40 B. C. He subsequently displaced Juno as the *deus patrius* of Perusia. Vulcan is probably identical with *Vel* on the bronze of Piacenza.

Venus had an early shrine of uncertain character in the necropolis of Orvieto. If the figure inscribed V[ol]centani on the bas-relief of Caere is to be identified with her, she was the protecting divinity of Volci. In several places a modern Monte Venere indicates that in Etruria as elsewhere Venus, as well as Jupiter, was worshipped on the heights. Dedications are found from Volsinii and from the neighborhood of Orvieto, in the latter case under the name Venus Victrix.

Mars must have had an ancient cult at Falerii for a month was named for him there. Under the Empire he had temples at Caere and Veii. There are also dedications to him from Perusia and Ferentum. The cult of Numisius Martius in the territory of Capena, a god known elsewhere only at Rome, is significant because it connects the name of Mars with the family of the Numisii. Apollo Soranus on Soracte has striking analogies with Mars.

Bona Dea under the curious and otherwise unknown epithet Sepernas had an important cult at Lucus Feroniae. An altar was erected to her at Pisae, a *vicus* was named for her at Forum Clodi, and a dedication was made to her among the Sorrinenses.

Silvanus, the woodland god worshipped in shrines and groves and not in official temples, is known from a number of dedications in all parts of Etruria. An ancient grove sacred to him near Caere is mentioned in the Aeneid.

Of Greek cults in the region the most important are those of Apollo and Herakles. Hercules has left abundant traces of his worship in the names of Etruria. The ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους between Luna and the mouth of the Arno, the *statio ad Herculem* on the Via Aurelia near Pisae, the Portus Herculis which was Cosa's harbor, the *fons Herculis*, a famous healing spring near Caere, the Ponte d'Ercli near Arezzo, the Hercules Musinus whose name survives in Mount Musinus near Veii all attest his worship. The god seems to have had an early cult at Vetulonia. There was an official cult at Visentium and numerous private cults in various sections of Etruria. The name of Hercules in a prominent position on the bronze " liver " of Piacenza and the frequent representations of Hercules on Etruscan sarcophagi, cinerary urns, and mirrors bear further witness to the god's prominence. In Etruria as in Latium, Campania, and many other sections of Etruria, the god Hercules was one of the earliest contributions of Greek civilization to the peoples of Italy.

Apollo was known in Etruria through his oracle at Delphi as early as 540 when the Caerites were driven to consult it in consequence of a pestilence that followed their massacre of the Phocaeans. Caere later built a treasury in Apollo's precinct at Delphi, and doubtless practised the god's worship at home. The splendid terracotta Apollo provides cult evidence in Veii from about the year 500. Evidently the god was already well known in the surrounding country before the year 496 when the first recorded consultation of the Sibylline books provides the earliest known proof of his cult at Rome. Not only contact with Greek lands and the fame of Delphi but association with Cumae where Apollo's cult was strong must have had a share in spreading Apollos's worship. A votive cup with *Apolonos* on it shows his early cult at Falerii, and the neighboring worship of Apollo Soranus on Soracte was a local cult, probably of Mars, that was early assimilated with Apollo, the Greek founder of colonies. There is doubtful evidence for his worship at Volsinii. The god had an altar at Castrum Novum and private dedications at Volci and in the territory of Capena and Orvieto. In his function as a god of healing the god is worshipped at the medicinal springs of Vicarello and at those known as Aquae Apollinares; probably too he was worshipped at the spring called Fonte Tenta near Arretium.

With Apollo at these healing springs and notably at Vicarello dedications were made to the Nymphs, in origin no doubt Italic fountain spirits who were identified with the Greek Nymphs. In addition to the numerous records from Vicarello, dedications to them have been found at Sutrium, Volsinii, Perusia, Arretium, Clusium, and Suana. The numerous hot springs of Etruria, frequented in ancient as well as in modern times, are commented on by Strabo (V 2, 9), who notes that because of their nearness to Rome they are not less thronged than the more famous hot springs of Baiae.

Another Greek god of healing is Aesculapius who is addressed in inscriptions of Pyrgi, Ferentum, and Volsinii, once under the epithet Salutaris. On one occasion he is coupled with his usual counterpart Hygia. Hercules also, it may be noted, was sometimes a god of healing; the chief of the healing springs near Caere was sacred to him and he was honored at Clusium with a dedication as Hercules Salutaris.

The worship of Ceres, who was usually not the Italic goddess but the Greek Demeter, has already been considered. The Dioscuri, though they are frequently represented on Etruscan mirrors, have no attested cult for an early date. There was an official cult of Castor and Pollux at Veii under the Empire. Juno Curritis of Falerii seems to have been influenced in various details of her ritual by Hera of Argos.

The various forms of emperor worship that became common in the time of Augustus have left abundant traces in Etruria as in most sections of Italy. The earliest record here is the inadequately attested sacrifice by Octavian of 300 senators of Perusia to the manes of the Divine Julius. Far more certain are the records of the cult of Augustus and his successors. First there are the monuments that attest the cult of the Lares Augusti and the Genius of the ruler. This worship, established at all the cross-roads of Rome in 7 B C., had its beginnings there as early as 12 B. C. From this very time comes the earliest record of the organization outside Rome — a dedication to Augustus made at Nepet by four *magistri Augustales*. Other dedications of Augustan date made by officials having the same title show the cult at Falerii and Cosa. At Caere and Pagus Stellatinus altars with representations of the Lares and of sacrificial scenes showing the offering of a bull belong to the same cult. A Claudian inscription of Caere shows that the Lares Augusti were worshipped in the *curiae* as well as in the *vici*. Dedications to the Genius and Lares from Veii, to the Lares Augusti from Ferentum, where the title *magister Larum* also occurs, and officials called *magistri Augustales* from Florentia provide further evidence for the same cult.

Official municipal worship of emperors living and dead is attested at a number of places. Thus there was an *Augusteum* at Pisae in 2 B. C. and one at Ferentum not later than the reign of Tiberius. There was a *templum divorum* at Caere and there were priests of the imperial cult at Veii, Tarquinii, Clusium, Pisae, and Luna, and a priestess at Florentia. The priests include a *flamen Augustalis* of Pisae and a *flamen divi Claudii* and a *flamen Romae et Augusti* at Luna. Only in that town is there evidence for the worship of the goddess Roma with the emperors. Temples and priests of the emperor's genius probably became general in municipalities in the reign of Augustus. The genius of the living emperor was worshipped and with it was subsequently united the deified emperors.

There are significant documents of the imperial cult from Forum Clodi and Pisae. The altar to the Numen Augustum at the former place is a unique monument, sacred, it would seem, to the entire reigning house, and honoring Tiberius hardly less than Augustus in its provisions. Though it was erected as late as 18 A. D., references to Augustus seem to indicate that it goes back to arrangements made before the death of that emperor. Two long decrees from Pisae, heaping honors on Augustus's grandsons Gaius and Lucius after their death, give no indication of divine honors but, in the ceremonies accorded, follow the usual custom of the Roman *Parentatio*, the festival of the dead.

Various subsidiary forms of the imperial cult are known. The cult of Fortuna Redux, established at Rome in 19 B. C., existed at Veii. The *ludi Victoriae Caesaris* seem to have been celebrated at Capena as late as the end of the second century. Several divinities, notably Victoria, have the *cognomen* Augusta.

Like other sections of Italy, Etruria is rich in records of *Augustales* and *seviri Augustales,* the semi-magisterial freedman priests who became widespread in Italian and western municipalities during the Empire. Etruria is on the borderland between the regions where the two terms are found, *Augustalis* being more common in southern Italy and *sevir Augustalis* in the north. In Etruria we find, as we should expect, that the former title is more usual in the south and east and the latter in the north. At Veii there is a peculiar situation attested at only one other Italian municipality. The *seviri Augustales* seem to be the annual magistrates who, after their year of service, pass into the body of the *Augustales*. Elsewhere there are few significant documents. From the second century and later come several inscriptions that attest the position as an intermediate body between *decuriones* and *plebs* which the *Augustales* acquired in municipalities. One such record from Nepet was set up by a freedman of Trajan, the emperor under whom the transformation seems to have taken place.

Like the rest of Italy too, Etruria provides evidence for the importance which the Oriental gods acquired under the Empire. That the evidence is not even more abundant is doubtless due to the fact that the population of Etruria was not large in the Empire and the inscriptions preserved are not numerous. The Phrygian goddess Magna Mater, known at Rome from the time of the Second Punic War, but prominent in the attention of the people only from the imperial period (probably the time of Claudius), can claim one shrine in Etruria that was a direct introduction from the East. It was established near Falerii by Julia Ammia, probably the daughter of Tigranes, whom Augustus made king of Armenia. Magna Mater also had an official worship at Falerii which, as frequently elsewhere, was closely related to the cult of Isis. At Lucus Feroniae near Capena a dedication was found to her, and at Faesulae and Luna the existence of *dendrophori* probably indicate her cult. There is a possible priest of Magna Mater at Centumcellae [3].

The Egyptian goddess Isis, who was already becoming prominent at Rome at the end of the Republic, and whose worship, as the remains of her shrine at Pompeii suggest, attained a great prominence in municipalities in the early empire, had a cult at Falerii, where she was associated both in a dedication and by a common priest with Magna Mater, at Faesulae where Osiris was honored with her, at Florentia where the inscriptions from her shrine are particularly numerous, and at Perusia. She is mentioned too in a dedication from Sutrium. At Portus Falesia near Populonia the return of Isis's lover Osiris was celebrated in a joyous spring gathering as late as the fifth century of our era.

Still more numerous are the traces left by the Persian god Mithras, the Oriental divinity who in the second century obtained the greatest hold on the western world. His cult is known from bas-reliefs and inscriptions from Sutrium, the territory of Capena and Orvieto, from Clusium, Pagus Stellatinus, Vicus Matrini, Rusellae, and possibly Arretium. Monuments that are perhaps of local provenience exist today at Florence and Pisa. Especially interesting is the Mithreum at Sutrium, now the church of the Madonna del Parto, which Professor Cumont has discussed.

Among less common Oriental cults may be mentioned the Thracian-Phrygian god Sabazios, known from the territory of Capena, and from Veii, Volsinii, Cortona, and Luna. Ammon, the god of Cyrene, has left a trace of his cult at Faesulae. Of Syrian gods, so well attested at Rome in the third century when Syrian merchants came in numbers from the east, only Iuppiter Dolichenus is known and he only in a dedication from Florentia. Liber Pater of Luna may be the god of Septimius Severus's native Leptis and Sol Iuvans of Pyrgi is certainly an eastern divinity.

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[3] Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle, Mère des Dieux* 420 ff., depends for his assumption of a cult of Magna Mater at Volsinii on the inscription 2993 which he thinks records *dendrophori*. The inscription is however too fragmentary to serve as evidence. Similarly the shrine to which he refers at Porto San Stefano is attested only by the discovery of a seated statue which is not certainly Cybele. Moreover even if it is correctly identified this statue found in a villa along with statues of other divinities is by no means conclusive cult evidence.

For early Christianity there is much evidence that varies greatly in value. Centum Cellae was the home of Cornelius who was pope from 251 to 253. Clusium has a dated Christian inscription of the year 290, and catacombs of the third century. Pisae and Florentia sent bishops to the Synod of Rome in 313. Nepet, Perusia, Faesulae, Florentia, and Pisae are accredited with martyrs in the Roman Martyrology. Christianity was strong throughout Etruria in the fourth century.

In the imperial period, when malaria and soil exhaustion had brought depopulation and decline [4], the local cults of Etruria have little to distinguish them from the cults of other sections of Italy. The only really distinctive features of the region are the frequent *haruspices* and the peculiar titles *praetor* and *aedilis Etruriae XV populorum*. The most common cults are the imperial worship in its various forms and the numerous Oriental worships. The foreign names of the men who made dedications, indicating that in Etruria as elsewhere in Italy the native stock had largely died out and had been replaced by the descendants of slaves, mainly of eastern origin, easily explains why these cults made the strongest appeal.

Far more important is the evidence belonging to a time when the country was rich and powerful. The most surprising characteristics of the early cults of Etruria are the predominance of Italic divinities and the unimportance of Etruscan gods. Clearly the Italic population with whom the Etruscan immigrants mingled did not give up their native worship for the religion of the newcomers. The native cults, moreover, provide striking indications as to the people who originally dwelt in Etruria. Juno, a goddess whose cult is rare in Sabine lands and is preeminent where the Latins held sway, is the most ancient and the most prominent divinity of Etruria; frequently, as in the cities of Latium, her cult in Etruria is political in nature [5]. Mars, on the other hand, the great god of the Sabines, is comparatively unimportant in Etruria. Only in the territory of Falerii and Capena, towns bordering closely on Sabine territory, is there certain evidence of Sabine cults in the region. Though for numerous other divinities no distinctions can be drawn between Latins and Sabines, the evidence of the cults accords with a mass of other evidence, considered in the introductory chapter, to make us believe that the original inhabitants of Etruria belonged to the Latin race and that the region was culturally a unit with Latium [6]. The hold which the Italic divinities retained probably indicates that the Etruscans were but a small part of the population.

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[4] See Frank, *Am. Hist. Rev.* XXI (1915-6) 689-708; M. E. Park, *The Plebs in Cicero's Day* (1921).

[5] See Otto, *Philologus* 1905, 161 ff.; Thulin, s. v. Iuno, Pauly-Wissowa.

A corresponding lack of genuine Etruscan cults in the region accompanies this abundance of Italic divinities. Of the gods whose names are known from Etruscan inscriptions only Uni, Maris, and Selvans, all of them Italic deities, can be shown to have persisted in the region. Jupiter was genuinely identified with the Etruscan Tinia but it was the Italic name and not the Etruscan that persisted. Vortumnus, the *deus Etruriae princeps*, and Voltumna, at whose shrine the Etruscan league met, seem to have been not Etruscan but Italic. Such gods as Klanins, Muantrns, Culsans have left no traces outside the rare Etruscan inscriptions. The religious beliefs of the Etruscans which their wall-paintings, the reliefs on their sarcophagi, and the incised designs on their mirrors indicate [7], receive no confirmation from the local cults of the region. Even the science of Etruscan divination has left no local survival except the records of *haruspices* in the individual towns and the indication that the *ordo LX haruspicum* had a seat at Tarquinii [8].

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[6] This kinship with the people of Etruria perhaps explans why Roman conquerors summoned the gods of Etruria to Rome. *Evocatio*, as this process was called, is attested in Etruria for Veii, Falerii, and Volsinii; since elsewhere it is unknown outside Latium, Wissowa's assumption that it was resorted to only when the enemy was of a kindred race seems justified. (See s. v. *evocatio*, Pauly-Wissowa).

[7] A thorough investigation of these monuments is needed to distinguish between Greek, Italic, and Etruscan elements in the representations. The best discussion of Etruscan religious beliefs is Herbig's article on Etruscan Religion in Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. There are many interesting suggestions on the subject in Poulsen's *Etruscan Tomb Painting*.

[8] There is for instance, no case in Etruria of so definite a survival of the *disciplina* as an inscription of Vindonissa to which Professor Dessau has called my attention (XIII 5197, Dessau 9272); Aram Avert. M. Master(na) mil. leg. C. XI p. f. (centurionis) Crispes libes posuit. The altar seems to have been erected to the Di Avertenses about whom Macrobius (III 20,3) quotes Tarquitius Priscus, the writer on *Etrusca disciplina*. The Etruscan name Masterna (for the form see Dessau 9272a) indicates that the man who set up the altar belonged to an Etruscan family.

Indeed the predominantly Italic character of the gods worshipped in the towns of Etruria leads one to question the Etruscan origin of much that is commonly associated with Etruria. The art of town planning, long ascribed to the Etruscans, is now recognized as a survival of an Italic institution familiar from the Bronze Age terramara settlers [9]. The Etruscans did nothing more than regulate and make known the rules that governed it. The chief " Etruscan " Triad whose worship the system required in every town is made up of three native Italic divinities and this Triad had a cult in pre-Etruscan Rome. The ancient Roman Triad, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, shows that the worship of divinities in Triads was an Italic institution. The temples with three cellas found in Etruria and Latium and in sites like the Etruscan Marzabotto prove how common such Triads were. If the institution was Italic, then the temple with tripartite cella which Vitruvius described as the typical Etruscan form must in itself be Italic in origin. Every custom and institution designated as Etruscan must be carefully examined to determine whether it belongs to the Etruscan people or to the country to which they gave their name.

The non-survival of Etruscan cults may in part be explained by the fact that the Etruscans must have been far outnumbered by the teeming native population already inhabiting the land. But the strength of Greek cults in a region where Greek settlers were certainly far less numerous than Etruscan bids us look for a further reason. The art of divination which the newcomers brought — an art connected by so many lines with the East that we cannot doubt its Etruscan origin — did survive. It was an art that was in tradition associated with the chiefs of Etruria, and it was handed down from father to son in the most prominent families of the Etruscan cities. It attached itself to the native forms of worship and recommended sacrifices and ceremonies according to rites that were either genuinely Italic or had been learned by the Italic peoples from the Greeks. What we know of this sacred lore helps us to see what the Etruscans contributed to the religious life of the region. They seem to have had no deep religious convictions. They were apparently men of a classifying and codifying turn of mind, pedants who zealously formalized everything with which they came in contact. On the externals of cult, as on such matters as the dress and paraphernalia of magistrates (Livy I 8), their influence was undoubtedly great [10]. But they cared little about making known in Italy the gods of their eastern home. Unlike the Orientals who under the Roman Empire revolutionized the religion of Italy by widespread worship of orgiastic eastern gods, the Etruscans preferred to adapt themselves and their sacred lore to the deities that already had a hold on the people of Italy. That is perhaps why Dionysius of Halicarnassus in arguing that the Etruscans were not Lydians (I 30) emphasizes the fact that the gods of the two people were different.

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[9] Haverfield, *Ancient Town Planning*. See especially the comments on Marzabotto, pp. 61ff. The rectangular form of Marzabotto, the only Etruscan town the plan of which is at all clear, is probably to be explained by the fact that the form of the town followed the tradition of the Italic people who must have made up a considerable part of the population.

[10] Even here one must be on the watch for Italic elements. See the discussion of the use of skin in the head-dress of the Etruscan priests, chapter 14 above.

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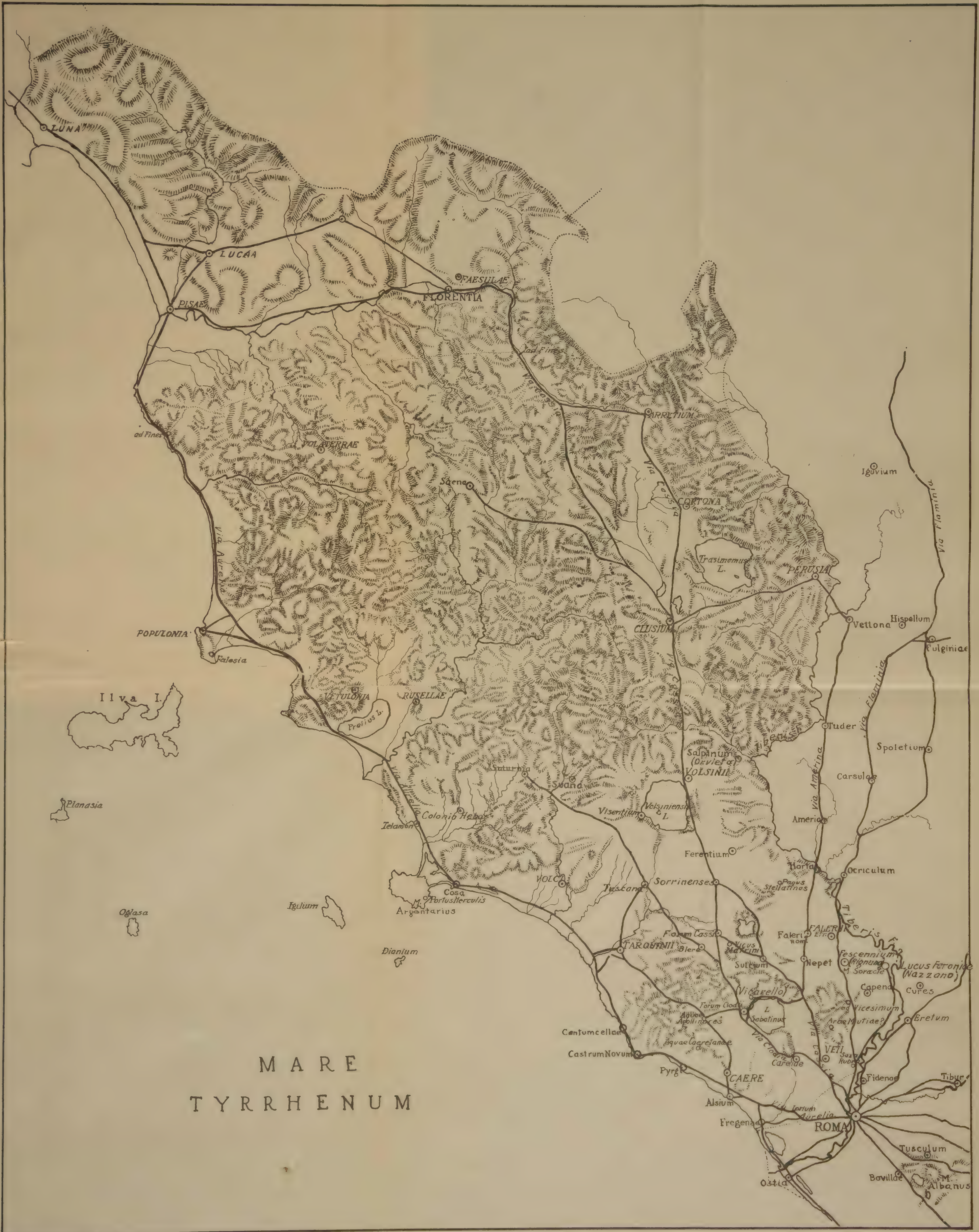
LUNA
LUCAA
PISAE
FAESULAE
FLORENTIA
ad Fines
Via Cassia
ARRETIUM
ad Fines
VOLATERRAE
Saena
CORTONA
Via Cassia
Iguvium
Via Flaminia
Trasimemus L.
PERUSIA
Via Aurelia
CLUSIUM
Vettona
Hispellum
Fulginiae
POPULONIA
Falesia
Ilva I.
VETULONIA
RUSELLAE
Prelius L.
Tuder
Via Flaminia
Spoletium
Tiberis
Salpinum (Orvieto)
VOLSINII
Via Amerina
Carsulae
Saturnia
Suana
Visentium
Volsiniensis L.
Planasia
Via Aurelia
Colonia Hebos
Telamon
Ameria
Ferentium
Horta
Ocriculum
VOLCI
Tuscana
Sorrinenses
Pagus Stellatinos
Cosa
Portus Herculis
M. Argentarius
Oglasa
Igilium
Tiberis F.
Forum Cassi
Faleri Rom.
FALERII Etr.
Dianium
TARQUINII
Blera
Vicus Matrini
Sutrium
Nepet
Fescennium (Rignano)
M. Soracte
Lucus Feroniae (Nazzano)
Capena
Cures
Vicarello
Forum Clodii
L. Sabatinus
Aquae Apollinares
Vicesimum
Ara e Mutiae?
Eretum
Centumcellae
Aquae Caeretanae
Via Clodia
Via Cassia
VEII
Saxa Rubra
Castrum Novum
Careiae
Pyrgi
CAERE
Fidenae
Tibur
Alsium
Via Aurelia
Fregenae
ROMA
Tusculum
Bovillae
M. Albanus
Ostia
MARE TYRRHENUM

MAP OF ETRURIA

BL
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Taylor, Lily Ross
Local cults in Etruria

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